

THE INDIAN WORLD

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POLITICS & ECONOMICS, ARTS &
INDUSTRIES, HISTORY & LITERATURE

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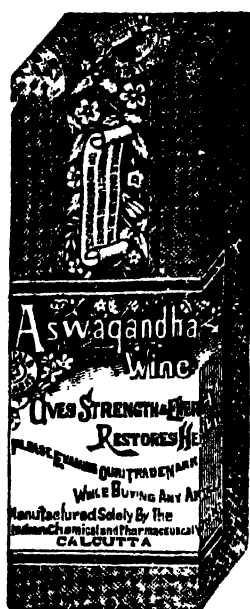
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Satya Bhusan Gupta

Manager,

121, Dhurumtollah Street, Calcutta.

THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. VI]

AUGUST, 1907

[No. 29

CENTRALISATION AND DECENTRALISATION

It is always a real pleasure to write for the pages of the *Indian World*, because experience has taught us that the Editor will always give a fair and courteous hearing even to ideas which he cannot be expected to share. Not long ago, he allowed me to say something in favour of the Partition of the great province of which I was once a servant, in which I was born, and of which I have the most affectionate and loyal memories. I did not hope to make many, if any, converts. That does not matter. The great thing is that all who are interested in India and its political and social advancement should keep as open a mind as possible, and should not come to a decision without consulting as many advisers as possible. Any changes that are likely to happen in the near future must be more or less in the nature of experiments. It is easy to go forward, it is much less easy to retrace our steps. And, since the people of Bengal are admittedly among the best educated and most progressive races in India, it is desirable, obviously, that they should set an example of moderation and wisdom. In that respect, we all look to the *Indian World* to give us a lead. Therefore it is that I ask permission once more to advocate a policy which I fear may not recommend itself to my many friends in Bengal, and may not be popular.

I beg leave to say a word in favour of decentralisation. I must admit, at the very beginning of my argument, that I have against me two weighty authorities for whom, in different ways, I have, necessarily, the greatest respect. Only the other day, Lord Curzon wrote to the *Times* to express his belief that it would be a mistake to grant wider powers and greater responsibilities to local governments. In support of his view, Lord Curzon cited Sir Henry Cotton's speech in the Budget debate. "There is a real danger to be guarded against," he wrote. It was foreshadowed by Sir Henry

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Cotton when he remarked from long personal experience that "the local governments are all petty despotisms."

Now it is evident that it requires some audacity on the part of a humble member of the general public to advocate a policy which is condemned by two authorities so eminent and speaking from such different points of view. When Lord Curzon holds that decentralisation would lead to inefficiency and confusion, and Sir Henry Cotton believes that it would bring about an increase of bureaucratic stringency of control, it would almost seem that the policy of lessening the interference of the central administration is condemned beyond redemption. We have all the greatest respect for Lord Curzon as the ablest, the most original and most energetic of modern Viceroys. We all know that Sir Henry Cotton's devotion to the popular cause in India is entirely unselfish and generous, and that in advocating it he has more than once incurred the dislike of his brother Anglo-Indians. Yet I venture to think, as I have always thought, that there can only be progress in India by means of decentralisation. It is this belief that has induced me to urge that the Partition of Bengal may be a blessing in disguise after all. May I beg those who think differently to give a patient and candid hearing to the reasons that have led me to adopt a view which is likely, I fear, to prove unpopular?

So far, it has been the aim of our reformers to Indianise the existing administration. That may be a very excellent object in itself, but I doubt if it would make much difference to the mass of the Indian people. The system would remain the same; I doubt if the policy would be greatly altered. If the *personnel* of the existing administration were changed, it would be by means of competitive examinations. There would be, perhaps, fewer Englishmen; there would be more Bengali and Mahratta Hindus. In time, it is possible that administrators of these latter types might become at least as unpopular as Englishmen, for one reason or another, are said to be at present.

The unpopularity of an indigenous administration would be an even greater evil than the unpopularity of men who, if the worst comes to the worst, can leave the country and who, merely as exiles, are not so much affected by unpopularity, if only because they are foreigners who can console themselves with the thought that they have at least tried to do their duty and have been misunderstood.

What do we desire for India? No doubt that, in due course of time, her peoples shall have something of the same local liberty of

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action as has been conceded to the British Colonies. Now the British Colonies early perceived that that end could only be obtained by means of the extremest decentralisation. It was only after they had obtained a measure of Home Rule that they thought it possible to contrive federalised Government. Take, for instance, the case of Australia. Until 1901 the great island of Australia, comprising a greater area than the whole of India, was divided into six colonies thus :

| | | | | Population |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| New South Wales | ... | ... | ... | 1,352,297 |
| Victoria | ... | ... | ... | 1,200,918 |
| Queensland | ... | ... | ... | 496,596 |
| South Australia | ... | ... | ... | 362,604 |
| Western Australia | ... | ... | ... | 182,553 |
| Tasmania | ... | ... | ... | 172,475 |

Total 3,767,443

These, be it remembered, were homogeneous communities, composed of men accustomed to a hereditary system of self-government. Their total number was less than that of some Indian districts, yet they felt that decentralisation was a necessity until each community had worked out its own system of government. The Commonwealth is a federation of equal States, each of which has a share in the common deliberations. Even now, the Mother Country and its Colonies have not yet devised a system of joint administration. They are content that each shall administer its own affairs so long as independent action is compatible with the common safety. Even now, New Zealand, with a population of only 772,719 (something like that of Beluchistan) stands outside of the Commonwealth.

Take again the great Dominion of Canada. It has an area almost twice as great as that of India, with a population which is less than that of Assam before the Partition. Before 1867 it was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. In that year these provinces were united into one federated Dominion, to which were added in 1870, Manitoba, in 1871, British Columbia, and in 1873, Prince Edward Island. Newfoundland still stands outside the federated provinces, and the greater part of the North-West territories are still directly administered. It was only when the provinces proved that they could govern themselves that it was found advisable to join them into one common administration.

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Take, again, the colonies of South Africa. Here the time has not yet come for federation. We have the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope with a population of 1,527,224; that of Natal, with 929,970 inhabitants: the Transvaal, containing less than a million souls of all races; and the Orange River Colony, with a total population of only 207,503. North of these is the vast tract known as Rhodesia, which is still administered by a Chartered Company. No doubt, in course of time, all these will be united into one common administration. But at present, the local conditions are too different. Rhodesia could not hold its own with Cape Colony. Its population is too scanty and too politically undeveloped.

Now it may be said that the case of India is so totally different from that of the various groups of British colonies that the comparison I have ventured to make is inapplicable and useless. The differences are certainly startling. India has 60 times the population of Canada, and 75 times that of South Africa or Australia. Moreover our population is much less homogeneous. We have many more races, religions and languages. Some of our peoples possess an ancient civilisation and literatures which take the highest rank, others, as we all know, are painfully taking the first steps out of primitive savagery. Obviously it would be possible to grant some provinces and some races a measure of political freedom which could only be abused by others at present. In Bengal it might be possible to introduce some such representative institutions as have been granted to the City of Calcutta. In such adjacent tracts as the Lushai Hills, and perhaps even in Chota Nagpore, it would be premature to think of anything like popular representation except in a very humble and tentative form. That is why I venture to think that the creation of two Councils in Bengal is a real step forwards. It only remains to give these Councils larger powers and greater responsibilities, so as to enlist the co-operation of a larger number of educated Bengalis in shaping the policy of their local administration. I venture to think that the cynical old maxim *divide et imperes* may have a new meaning. Divide in order that each race and each province may have a chance of showing its capacity for self-government. That would not interfere with the employment of Indians in higher posts under the Supreme—the Federal—Government of India. On the contrary, it would give educated Indians a new opportunity of showing their fitness for political employment. It was in the separated colonies that such men as Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Deakin found their chance of

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becoming statesmen of acknowledged pre-eminence. At present, it is chiefly in the Civil Service and in the Native States that educated Indians can rise to positions of influence. It is only by some measure of decentralisation that, in a much more crowded country than the Colonies, men of light and leading can win their-way to the front. We must not forget that undivided Bengal had a population as large as that of the United States of America. Now the Union comprises 32 original States, 7 States of which were admitted without having been organised as territories dependent on the Union, and 25 States which have been from time to time promoted from the status of dependent territories. Most of the States have a smaller population than our districts. Even the State of New York which contains the great city of the same name has a population not much greater than that of Mymensing. It is almost impossible to imagine so great a population under one administration if the separate States had not large powers of local government. Nor could India be administered as a whole except under a highly centralised bureaucracy which leaves little room for popular representation. Its place, under a system of popular government, could only be taken by a federal administration whose powers would have to be carefully circumscribed.

It will be answered, no doubt, that India already possesses a centralised administration which is efficient and, on the whole, works well. This, in effect, is what Lord Curzon urges with all the weight of his experience and great authority. We must listen with respect to his gravely-weighted warning. "I wholly dissent," he says, "from the opinion of the late Mr. John Bright, which was not based upon any personal knowledge of Indian administration, that the first condition of good government in India is the abolition of the Viceroyalty, and the splitting up of that country into a number of separate provinces, each with an almost independent Government; and I cannot imagine a political change that would be fraught with greater mischief to the cause of good administration, or to the real welfare of the people. Were each Government to evolve its own standard, or to follow its own caprice, a series of conflicting politics would spring up all over India, and the evils of a heptarchy on a gigantic scale would be produced."

This, be it remembered, is the deliberate opinion of the most efficient, vigorous and brilliant Viceroy of our time. It is not for ordinary men to contest so grave and important a statement save in the most respectful and tentative fashion. This much, however, we may be permitted, to say. Even now, the whole of India is not

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administered with absolute uniformity. It would be absurd to apply the same laws and rules to, say, the Twenty-Four Pergunnahs and the Lushai Hills, to Beluchistan and Bengal. Nor, if we are to make a beginning in the direction of a more popularised form of administration, can we wait till all the races, peoples and provinces of India are ready to receive the boon. That the central Government in a country like India must keep a firm control and vigilant supervision over subordinate governments is obvious. That is a point on which Lord Curzon and Sir Henry Cotton, who probably agree on no other Indian question, are at one. But we cannot find much greater employment for the energies of educated inhabitants of the more advanced provinces unless there is a very substantial measure of decentralisation. So long as we have one common administration over the 75 millions or so of people in the two Bengals, that administration must be of the bureaucratic type, it must be in the hands of a limited number of administrators, and it must be what Sir Henry Cotton (perhaps somewhat too forcibly) calls "a petty despotism."

We must admit that Lord Curzon has justice on his side when he says that "local Governments have their defects, just as the central Government has its : they tend insensibly to become narrow, rigid, and rather soulless in the discharge of their duties when these are neither enlightened by outside experience nor stimulated by higher control." So is it, undoubtedly, with district administration when it is not supported and stimulated by a strong yet supple control from head-quarters. Yet the problem remains of giving effect to the new nationalistic feeling of various Indian races, the most marked example of which is the sturdy (though, I venture to think, mistaken) opposition to the Partition of Bengal. We cannot yet afford to dispense with a strong and impartial central control. In that direction lies efficient administration, as advocated by Lord Curzon, and the recognition of the Pan-Indian sentiment as represented by Sir Henry Cotton and the National Congress. I hope indeed that it is possible to maintain the present efficiency of India as a whole and yet to admit more Indians from time to time into its ranks. But there is another problem which seems to be falling out of sight, and that is the advance in political and social education of the Indian masses. This, at present, takes the shape of an ever-growing number of critics of the administration, critics who are irresponsible, who have no practical experience of politics, and who, very often, are not very well aware of what they desire. The aspirations of such men can be suppressed by force, or else

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as in Western countries, some means can be devised for giving them some share of responsibility, whether by the vote or otherwise. There is no room for them all in a highly centralised bureaucracy. But if we fall back upon the natural unit of Indian administration—the district, which, after all corresponds roughly in population to an American State,—it ought to be possible to devise some means of discovering, conciliating and utilising public opinion. In one sense, Indian administration is already highly decentralised. Each district has already its own budget, its own treasury, its own law-courts, in many cases, its own system of taxation. Every Indian, besides his loyalty to his own race, his own province, and to our common Dominion of *Bharatvarsha*, has a very strong affection for his native district and a very competent knowledge of its needs. It is open to Sir Henry Cotton to assert that every district collector is “a petty despot.” He is usually a very busy and harassed despot, who would be only too glad to have some means of shifting his responsibilities on to the shoulders of some of those whose affairs he administers. It appears to me, if I may very diffidently express my opinion, that we must begin by popularising district administration, and that the next step will be to devise some means of giving districts some sort of representation in the provincial councils. And since large councils, as a beginning, are always unsuccessful, the more councils we have the better. We must admit that the multiplication of councils is subject to the dangers which Lord Curzon points out in language whose gravity and force we must acknowledge. Yet, if we are to follow Lord Curzon’s advice, we shall have to be content to perpetuate the present system, as being the only one possible under the existing conditions of India. Nor does it seem to me that Sir Henry Cotton desires anything very different, except that he would reduce the European element to such a minimum as is not likely to be allowed by the Home Government, whatever party may be in power. Now I venture to think that in some parts of India at least we may safely enlarge our present system, take the people more into our confidence, and give them some of the responsibility of government. That can only be done by selecting small and homogeneous units and by really introducing (if I may be allowed to use a phrase round which unhappy associations have gathered) some means of local Self-Government.

There will undoubtedly be some loss of uniformity and even, perhaps, of efficiency. In practice, perhaps, it will be difficult to make the change, so accustomed are we to centralised and uniform

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administration. Yet we have a precedent in the Native States many of which are much smaller than British districts.

Sir Henry Cotton objects to decentralisation, apparently because he thinks that the bureaucratic control of the Central Administration is still necessary. He may be right. If so, the time has not yet come for any extension of popular liberties in India. Or does he think that an Indianised central administration would be more popular, more responsible, more representative than the present one? The experience of Western communities does not support that view, even in communities much more homogeneous than is India. Already we have talk of the representation of minorities. Already it is plain that certain races and religions would practically obtain the monopoly of rule. Already there is a marked manifestation of race feeling and religious feeling. I shall be told, I know, that there is no real difference of opinion between Hindus and Mussulmans in Bengal, and that the preface to Mr. Naresachandra Sen Gupta's admirable translation of *Anandamatha* proves this. Perhaps it does. But unrest and discontent in Bengal are one thing, and in the Punjab another. We are fast drifting into a sterile belief that agitation is in itself a good thing, whereas it is an evil,—political, economical and social. The remedy, I venture to believe, differs in different places, unless indeed the true remedy is the simple one of repression. That can be universally applied, since every government worth the name must possess the power of using force. The problem is to discover a means by which the administration shall continue to possess that necessary power, and yet may have no excuse for using it. That, it seems to me, can only be obtained by courageous decentralisation, and by giving to the provinces, and even to the districts, of British India a larger voice in the administration of their own affairs.

Once more I repeat that I am fully aware that my opinion is probably not worth much, since it has against it the voice of authority enormously and crushingly superior to any that I can claim. Yet we must bear in mind that the problem submitted to us is the popularisation of government in a country as large as Western Europe, and containing a much more diversified population. The agitation against the Partition of Bengal proves that in this population there exists a very strong local, national and racial feeling. It is the business of statesmen to recognise that feeling and to turn it to good and useful purposes. I am not vain enough to suggest that I have discovered the true and only solution. But it does seem to me that the political aspirations which are so often expressed in the

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and such other journals and reviews are not compatible with a highly centralised administration.

We are constantly told that India should have something of the same local independence as the British Colonies. But, to obtain that, we must begin where the British Colonies and the British settlements in North America began, by decentralised government of small units under the guidance of a vigorous central administration. It does not, of course, follow that all, or even any, of the Indian peoples possess the political capacity which the British colonies and the United States have manifested. We must make allowance for heredity, and climate, and race, and religion. We must remember that most of the wealth and commerce of India is monopolised by certain classes and races. The problem, in short, is a much more difficult one than in new countries colonised by homogeneous and small communities which started with a natural bent towards democratic institutions. In India our society is, and must long continue to be, essentially aristocratic. But, so long as we possess a highly centralised administration, it will be, in effect if not in name, a bureaucracy very much of the present type, and probably not so efficient or so benevolent.

In conclusion, let me say that if any expressions I have used seem offensive to the feelings of my Indian readers (if they have done me the courtesy to struggle so far) I have erred unwittingly and most unwillingly. I am sure that Englishmen in India desire the best good of the country of their adoption. We have necessarily different ideas as to the best means of obtaining that common object. All the more reason why we should frankly, freely, and in the most friendly spirit, discuss one another's opinions. None of us is infallible, but all honest and thoughtful opinions are entitled to a respectful hearing. Can we not, in place of barren and angry agitation, arrive at a common understanding? None of us, probably, dreams of a democratised India. But we might do something in the direction of introducing a more popular administration into those provinces where public opinion is enlightened and where its leaders know what they really desire. Might not Bengal set the example by giving a frank and hearty support to its two councils, and by showing by the loyalty and prudence of their debates, that these councils might safely be enlarged, and that some measure of representation might be introduced into them? What good purpose is served by an obstinate opposition to a policy which has been definitely adopted by Mr. Morley and for which, not surely without some show of reason, he demands a fair trial? I ask this question

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with all humility. I could wish that it were asked by some one with better claims to be heard and with greater authority. But I speak as one who desires real progress and improvement. It seems to me that at present we are, whether we know it or not, going backwards. We are drifting into conduct which can only lead to forcible repression and reaction. That is why, once more, I venture to entreat that the Partition may be regarded as, what in fact it is, a step in the direction of that decentralisation without which, as it seems to me, no real progress can be made.

J. D. Anderson.*

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS OF INDIA & JAPAN

Even a superficial investigation of the educational systems of India and Japan present a deal of food for comparative study.

The educational ideals and policy as materialized in these two countries of the Orient present marked contrasts.

If the twentieth century world believes that education is instrumental in shaping the destinies of individuals and nations, it will readily conclude that the different educational systems of the two countries are responsible, to some extent, for the difference in progress of the two peoples.

The writer does not wish to discuss exhaustively the merits and demerits of education as pursued in India or in Japan. This article will merely present to the reader a few divergencies between the two systems that impressed the mind of the writer, during an extended stay in Japan, when he visited a number of the leading educational institutions.

* Mr. J. D. Anderson is one of the best friends of India that we know of and it affords us great pleasure in publishing from time to time his informed views on Indian questions. In the present article, Mr. Anderson makes a very well-reasoned appeal on behalf of 'decentralisation,' with the main arguments of which no intelligent Indian can have any quarrel. When the proposed Royal Commission on Indian Administrative Decentralisation visits this country, it will hardly find a more sober statement on the subject than this paper of Mr. Anderson. But while it is easy to inveigh against over-centralisation, is it unnatural to fear that decentralisation may also be carried *too far*? The success of an experiment towards decentralisation would mostly depend upon a workable scheme being formulated on the subject—a scheme that would avoid on the one hand the risk anticipated by Lord Curzon and on the other save the administration from drifting into petty despotisms. And as for giving a fair trial to the scheme of decentralisation of which the partition of Bengal seems to be the first fruit, why does not Mr. Anderson see that the new territorial division of Bengal, instead of making for progress, has for the last twenty-two months brought nothing but shame and humiliation upon the British Administration of India?—Ed. I. & W.

EDUCATION IN INDIA & JAPAN

The five Indian Universities at Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Bombay and Madras are merely examining bodies, which, by the Act passed by Lord Curzon, have now been reduced to mere departments of State Administration. The constitution, the governing authorities and the controlling powers of the Indian Universities have all been changed by the Act in question in such a way as to leave no margin for popular guidance and to make the Indian bureaucracy the supreme master of the situation. The Curzon Act has effected this change, but it has left the principal defect of the Universities untouched. Not only *untouched* but rather in an *aggravated* form. The examinations of the Indian Universities under the old regime were bad and stiff enough, but those which will be conducted under the new Regulations are likely to beat all examinations in the world hollow. The coming examinations are bound to prove veritable 'massacres of the innocents.' All the old defects of the examinations have practically been allowed to remain as they were; only the conditions of study and the severity of the tests have been made more rigorous. In most of the Indian Universities failure in one subject has hitherto condemned, and in future will also condemn, the examinee to wait for a full year and then to be tested in all the subjects again. The whole system of examinations has been so framed as to restrict the number of passes so far as possible, and the Indian examiner in future will concern himself more in 'plucking' or 'ploughing' candidates than in 'passing' them.

In Dai Nippon it is quite otherwise.

Besides the Government Universities at Tokyo and Kyoto, there are several private Universities in the Mikado's Capital. These are entirely free from official red-tapism.

All the Universities in Japan are *teaching bodies*. They do not content themselves with testing the work of professional coaches. Here the faculty of the University constitutes the examining body. The work done during the college term is a basis of judging the student's fitness. The number of failures is reduced to the minimum consistent with efficiency. All that an unsuccessful candidate loses is one short term, and he is not required to repeat an examination in which he has already been successful.

Such is the difference between the educational methods of India and Japan, at the top rung of the ladder.

As for popular education in India, it is a story of shame and humiliation. One man in ten can read and write, and one woman in one hundred and forty six has that accomplishment. The luxury

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of reading daily papers is further limited to those who can buy them, and these are even farther between than those who can read.

I was, therefore, surprised to notice that the Japanese Coolies, who drew me all day through the streets in a jin-rick-sha, read the daily papers during the intervals of business.

My vocabulary of the spoken Japanese being very poor, I was constantly obliged to have the name of any place I wished to visit written. This I did countless times during my residence in Japan and all I had to do was to show this address to any man or woman I chanced to meet, and not once did I find a person who was unable to read it. The percentage of literacy in Japan is not below that of any European or American country.

This is a significant difference. Without primary education in Japan there could have been no effective awakening.

In India, while the educated classes are working for the progressive movements, the uneducated people still cling to their effete beliefs. This is due directly to the lack of primary education—to the fact that there is no free and compulsory training of the girls and boys in the three R's.

In every progressive country, the initiative comes from the highly educated and intelligent few. Japan has been no exception to this rule. She has been fortunate in possessing a number of such leading spirits. But Japan had the further good fortune of having a system of free and compulsory primary education. This made it possible for men of initiative to find intelligent supporters, who took their cue from the leaders and translated their plans into practical results.

India does not lack in men of initiative. There are thousands of men and women in India today who can hold their own in education and culture when compared with the educated and cultured people of any country. India is fortunate to possess these capable leaders. But where are the *educated masses* to follow them and give effect to their plans?

Here, then, is the great difference between India and Japan, at the lowest rung of the ladder.

In Japan, technical and special education receive a great measure of attention from both the Government and the people. The technical schools and institutes, the commercial and industrial colleges, compare favourably with similar institutions in Europe and America. In addition to the Government schools of this description at Tokyo and Kyoto, there are numerous smaller ones scattered throughout the districts in the Empire.

EDUCATION IN INDIA & JAPAN

The lack of facilities for technical education in India can be judged from the large number of young men who have gone from that country to Japan to study in the technological schools, and in the factories and mills. Here then is a third vital difference between educational systems in the two countries.

It is true that India has, of late years, sent scores of bright, educated young men to foreign countries to train themselves as technical, industrial and manufacturing experts. The wisdom of this step can not be overestimated. But where will these experts, on their return, find the skilled workmen who are the backbone of every industry and manufacture? India will have to educate men for these purposes at home, and the sooner India realizes this defect in her system of education the better.

Looking over Japanese Imperial legislation, the Imperial rescript on education which was issued forty years ago impressed me as being a very important pronouncement on the subject :

"The acquirement of knowledge is essential to a successful life. All knowledge, from that necessary for daily life to that higher knowledge necessary to prepare officials, farmers, merchants, artisans, physicians, etc., for their respective vocations, is acquired by learning. A long time has elapsed since schools were first started in this country. But for the farmers, artisans and merchants, and also for women learning was regarded as beyond their sphere, owing to some misapprehension in the way of school administration. Even among the higher classes much time was spent in the useless occupation of writing poetry and composing maxims, instead of learning what would be for their benefit or that of the State. Now an educational system has been established and the schedules of study remodelled. It is designed that education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family or a family with an ignorant member."

The same spirit runs through the legislations of later years. The following cutting from a book issued by the educational department in Japan, for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, will be read with interest :

"In the year 1893, new regulations relating to the supplementary schools for technical instruction were issued. The great expansion of our national resources after the close of the Japan-China War of 1894-95, as well as the subsequent state of affairs both internal and external, have caused the necessity of education to be keenly felt by old classes of people. Consequently various educational institutions have been increased and expanded. Particularly

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in regard to technical education,—both the government and the people have concurred in advocating the advantage of its extension."

It is true that modern industrial Japan owes its birth to several other causes jointly with technical and special education. But the writer does not fear to be contradicted in saying that special education has been a very great element in the phenomenal way in which Japan has developed in recent years.

Instead of placing stress on the dead and classical languages, Japanese educators emphasize the cultivation of modern languages. The writer was impressed with the zeal of students and professors alike. He remembers how eagerly questions were put to him as to how he mastered the foreign language—the English—which he employed with tolerable ease and correctness, in speaking and writing. The Japanese will walk for hours, with a foreigner, for the sake of speaking the language with one to whom it is native.

How far the specialization of modern languages is carried in Japan can be judged from the fact that there is in Tokyo an excellent school for teaching English to girls. At the head of the school is a lady who spent a number of years in the United States learning the language.

Physical culture is another point in which the schools of the two countries differ. The students of Japan look smart and aggressive in their semi-military uniforms. All of them have to go through rigorous military drill, and some in addition learn the Japanese method of wrestling, called jiu-jitsu. The writer often observed small boys and girls taking part in sham military drills under the command of one of their number.

Female education is still another matter in which a marked contrast appears. In India the education of women is woefully backward. In Japan the percentage of literate women vies with that of literate men. Women in Japan are offered every inducement to secure technical and higher education. Japan is the only country in the Orient that has a Woman's University.

The most conspicuous feature of Japanese education is the patriotic note which dominates every other. The consistent policy of their educators is to make devoted and zealous patriots of the boys and girls,—the effort is being made to render them willing to sacrifice everything else to their national interest.

Every 'Reader' that is compiled, every history that is written, every song that is composed, every poem that is published and every ceremony that is performed in Japan has the patriotic motive in view.

INTERESTING PEOPLES OF CHOTANAGPUR

This comparison exhibits the sad condition of Indian civilisation of to-day to a degree that is sickening to an Indian who has his country's welfare at heart.

Since Japan inflicted upon Russia a signal defeat, the entire Orient is pulsating with a new life. All Asia seems to be vibrant with a longing to follow in the wake of Japan.

A great deal is being written of late urging the people of India to adapt the Japanese methods to their needs and requirements.

If India wishes to follow in the footsteps of Japan, the moral is clear. Free and compulsory primary education, adequate and efficient high school instruction, judicious and liberal technical and special training,—these must be followed with enthusiasm and in a spirit of devotion.

The time has arrived for India to insist that her people shall be provided with a system of education which will offer opportunity to every girl and boy in the country. Until this be accomplished, there is little hope for India.

Saint N. Singh

SOME INTERESTING PEOPLES OF CHOTANAGPUR

I

INTRODUCTORY

In the south-western corner of the province of Bengal, walled in by chains of wooded hills, ensconced in solemn seclusion amid its wild beauty and rocky grandeur, over two-thousand feet above the level of the sea, reposes the picturesque plateau of Chotanagpur,—*in* Bengal yet not *of* it.

In its physical features, in its geological formation, in its botanical products and its mineral wealth, in its ethnological peculiarities, in its social and political history, the Chotanagpur Plateau presents a striking contrast to the rest of the Province of which administratively it forms a part.

The craggy gneissose rocks, the deep and rugged ravines, the blue hills, the green *sal* jungles, the terraced fields of yellow wheat and paddy, the pretty snatches of mango plantations here and there, the limpid hill streams dashing down their narrow beds of rock and sand, now and again leaping over abrupt precipices and forming in their foaming headlong descent a few of the most picturesque waterfalls—all these and a host of other enchanting vistas of mountainous and sylvan scenery present a panorama of rude magnificence and varied beauty. the like of which we look for in vain in Lower

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Bengal. Remarkably refreshing is the contrast this varied land-scape presents to the monotonous stretch upon stretch of Bengal plains, broken here and there by some muddy meandering creek or *khal* or, perchance, by some mighty river rolling down with its load of loam and silt into the Sea.

If the difference in external features between the Chotanagpur Plateau and the rest of the Province is thus great, the difference in the races and tribes that people the two tracts, their languages, their manners, their religions, their social customs and political history, and last, but not least, their systems of land tenure, is, if possible, still greater.

In the rest of Bengal, a considerable portion of the population is proud of an ancient civilisation, modernised, perhaps, with a certain leaven of European ideas. Here, in Chotanagpur *proper*, we find the bulk of the population revelling in a state of almost primitive barbarity,—the occasional flimsy veneer of rudimentary education hardly serving to screen the old Adam from view. The traveller in Chotanagpur finds himself face to face with Nature in her wild primeval glory and with primitive man almost in a state of nature.

Lower Bengal, under the *aegis* of the British Government, has materially modified her ancient system of land tenures and placidly adopted a workable amalgam of Indian and English ideas. The sturdy aborigines of Chotanagpur, on the other hand, have clung with savage tenacity to their traditionary ideas of rights to land, and in the face of divers powerful opposing forces, have succeeded in preserving their original system of village land-holding more or less intact.

A study of these aboriginal tribes, their unique social and political history, their antique religious creeds, their curious customs, and their primitive land tenures, can hardly fail to prove intensely interesting. And to the student of the early history of human institutions, a study of these primitive races is simply invaluable.

Ethnologists classify the aborigines of Chotanagpur into two main divisions—the Kolarian or Munda group and the Dravidian group. Typical of the first group are the Mundas, or *Horoko*, as they call themselves. Of the Dravidian group, the Uraons, or, as the national appellation goes, the *Kurukhs*, are perhaps the only existing representatives in Chotanagpur.

At the last census made in the year 1901, the Mundas numbered 381,628, and the Uraons 590,627 souls. To this we have to add 51,505 Munda converts to Christianity and 60,888 Uraons of the

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same persuasion. When we consider that the Ranchi district, in which the majority of these tribes dwell, counted at the last census a total population of 1,187,925 individuals only, it is evident what an overwhelmingly large proportion these two aboriginal tribes bear to the entire population of the Plateau.

The traveller in Chotanagpur not unoften hears the *Mundas* as well as the *Uraons* indiscriminately spoken of by the non-aboriginal population as the 'Kols.' And he is apt to run away with the impression that both the *Mundas* and the *Uraons* belong to the same family of aboriginal races. No mistake, however, could be more egregious than this. The *Mundas*, as has been already stated, belong to the *Kolarian* group and the *Uraons* to the *Dravidian* group of non-Aryan races. Latest authorities on Indian ethnology, it is true, classify the *Mundas* as well as the *Uraons* as *Dravidians*. These authorities, for whom we entertain the highest respect, would restrict the employment of the term "Kolarian" to denote a mere philological distinction without any corresponding ethnological conclusion. In this innovation, their only guide is the new science of anthropometry which seeks by the measurement of prominent physical features to work back to the probable origin of the various race-stocks. This ambitious young science claims to have discovered by the application of anthropometric tests, and more particularly by what it calls the 'nasal index,' a uniform racial type to which the entire aboriginal population of India, barring the few Mongoloid tribes in the Northern and Eastern borders of Bengal, tend to conform. Whatever may have been the actual achievements of this new science, and however glorious its future achievements in the field of ethnology may promise to be, the use of the term *Dravidian* to include the northern as well as the southern aborigines of India does not appear to be a happy choice of nomenclature. The expression 'Dravidian' recalls to mind the ancient kingdom of *Chola* or *Dravida*, with its once famous capital of Kanchipura and suggests a southern origin for all these tribes. But this, perhaps, would not be historically correct or justifiable. Whatever other name, the modern school of ethnologists may in the future think fit to coin for the entire non-Mongoloid aboriginal population of India, we would for our present purpose prefer the hitherto-recognised and well-understood distinction between *Kolarian* and *Dravidian* as applied to the *Mundas* and the *Uraons* respectively.

And, as we shall see in succeeding chapters, the two races have had nothing in common either in their origin, their traditions,

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or their early history. It was not until the Uraons immigrated into the Chotanagpur Plateau that they partially borrowed from the Mundas their system of tribal government together with some of their religious observances. And it was much later still that both races fell under the sway of the same foreign masters and came to have the same political history. But the two dissimilar types of humanity have remained as distinct as ever. The Munda is essentially as unlike the Uraon as the Aryan is to the Semitic.* In their manners, character, speech and appearance, the indolent *Mundas*, with their fiery temperament, smooth and melodious language, more muscular physique, exhibit a marked difference from the hard-working and docile *Uraons* with their like limbs, tractable temperament and harsh speech abounding with gutturals and sibilants.

Thus, the appellation 'Kol,' as applied to the *Uraons*, is, it will be seen, a misnomer. And a short stay in Chotanagpur and a closer observation of the two races will teach the foreigner that, although the trend of modern authoritative ethnological opinion would class both the Mundas and the Uraons as *Dravidians*, the generic name of 'Kols' for the *Mundas* and *Uraons* alike is philologically, if not ethnologically, incorrect.

But, ere long, the stranger finds that more surprises are still in store for him. If India is a land of surprises, Chotanagpur is pre-eminently so. No sooner has the inquisitive traveller learnt the racial distinction between a Munda and an Uraon and recognised two different types of humanity in the two races than a fresh surprise of a different nature awaits him. In fact, from the moment the queer push-push with its curious human team moves away with the traveller from the Bengal Nagpur Railway station of Purulia towards the elevated plateau of Chotanagpur to the west, he finds, at every step, the old, familiar sights and sounds giving place to things new and unfamiliar. Each 'stage' in the upwards journey discloses novel and surprising glimpses of a veritable wonder-land. The ever-undulating road now and again climbing up some steep hilly ascent ; the quaint little hamlets alongside of the road, often embowered in their patriarchal trees ; the verdant hills and virgin

* Thus, H. B. Rowney in his *Wild Tribes of India*, pp. 59-60, writes :—
"Alongside of them (the Mundas), but as a distinct race, are found the Oraons, another aboriginal race, who, though not of the Kolarian type, appear to have shared with the Koles the glory of having best resisted the Brahmans. . . . They both differ almost equally in all respects from the people of the plains, at the same time they are distinguished from one another by features peculiar to each."

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forests further up the road, with their *fauna* and *flora* of varieties mostly unknown in the Bengal plains ; the numerous birds with their plumage of various hues and tints and their music of varied melodies, flitting about among the woods and on the hill-sides and over the fields, the many sparkling rivulets gushing down the mountain-sides and here and there trickling past the road,—there are some of the many strange sights and sounds that come upon the traveller as welcome surprises. And the aboriginal Mundas and Uraons—strange types of humanity that they are—form not the least important items in the catalogue of Chotanagpur wonders. When, delighted with his acquisition of fresh knowledge, and eager to make an appropriate use of it, the traveller calls the Munda a ‘Kol,’ he is startled to find that even the Munda, *Kolarian* though he is, flares up with indignation at this unaccountably disagreeable name. If he asks the *Sadans*—as the non-aboriginal population are called locally—for an explanation, the traveller is sadly disappointed. Nor can the illiterate Munda give him “the reason why” he resents the term ‘Kol.’ But a closer observation of the ‘Sadans’ or non-aboriginal people and a better understanding of their ways of thought and speech will enlighten him as to the secret of the Munda’s dislike for the name of “Kol.” It will not take the observant traveller long to find out that the *Sadans* in employing the term ‘Kol’ always associate with it an idea of contempt, and, perhaps, of reproach. And this contemptuous sense has been so often dinned into the ears of the Mundas themselves that even they, in course of time, appear to have lost sight of the original signification of the name and learnt to regard it as an opprobrious epithet, and not, as it once was, an honorific appellation.

If we attempt to trace the origin of the word ‘Kol,’ we shall find that not the slightest suspicion of contempt or reproach attached to the name in its inception. It was in its origin as inoffensive a term as any adopted by a tribe or race to distinguish themselves from the rest of humanity. Nay, it was a proud title of their own assumption, by which the haughty Mundas and some other kindred tribes chose to mark their supposed superiority to the rest of mankind whom they would hardly recognise as human. To us, at this day, it may seem strange that the now opprobrious term ‘Kol,’ by which the Mundas once styled themselves, literally means a ‘man.’* In

* The derivation of the word ‘Kol’ as given by Herr Jellinghans does not appear to be a correct one. According to him, the original signification of the term was a ‘pig-killer’ or ‘pig-eater,’ and this is said to have been “one of the larger class of epithets by which, since Vedic times, the Aryans have expressed their contempt for the voracious and promiscuous appetite of the aboriginal population of Pre-Aryan India.”

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reality, however, it is nothing more than a corruption of the Mundari word 'Horo' or 'Hor', meaning, a man. A well-known law of phonetic transition seems to have changed the 'h' into 'k,' and the 'r' into 'l.'

The first stage in this process of transition is met with in the name "Kor-ku" by which an allied tribe now dwelling in the plateau of Panchmari in the Central Provinces call themselves. That the name 'Kor-ku' is but a variation of 'Horo-ko'—the plural form of 'horo'—is abundantly borne out by the dialect of the *Korkus* themselves. In the dialect of that tribe, the Mundari word 'hon' (son) appears as 'kon,' Mundari 'hora' (way) assumes the form 'kora,' 'hende' (black) becomes 'kende.' Instances like these might be multiplied to any extent. In this way, the national name 'Ho', 'Horo' or 'Hor' seems to have been transformed into 'Kor,' the singular form of 'Kor-ku.'

The next step, the transformation of 'Kor' into 'Kol,' was easier still than the first. The frequent interchange of the 'r' sound into the 'l' sound is a matter of common observation with students of languages. The veriest beginner in the study of Sanskrit Grammar is familiar with the phonetic rule—"रल्योरभेदः"—and we have a remarkably large number of instances of such interchange in words now in common use in Chotanagpur : such, phonetic for example, as in 'pathar' (stone) and 'pathal,' 'phar' (fruit) and 'phal,' 'chawr' (rice) and 'chawl,' 'karia' (black) and 'kalia,' 'sara' (brother-in-law) and 'sala,' 'dhura' (dust) and 'dhula,' 'goar' (milkman) and 'goala.' A 'hal' or plough is called 'har' in the Ranchi district and for 'Kodali' (spade) we have here the form 'Kodari' or 'Kori.'

Nor does it seem unreasonable to suppose that the names of the Kolarian tribes 'Kharria' and 'Korwa' are, like 'Kor-ku,' mere corruptions of the national name 'Horo.' The suffix 'a' or 'wa' is a familiar termination in colloquial use among the people of Chotanagpur. In fact, the ludicrously excessive use of this favourite suffix by the people of the Ranchi district not unoften supplies food for good-humoured raillery and mirth to outsiders coming to the district.

We have spoken above of several other aboriginal tribes of Chotanagpur as belonging to the Kolarian group and properly denominated 'Kols.'

The 'Kharrias' and 'Korwas' we have already referred to. The 'Hos' of Singhbhum still retain the original form of the national appellation. So also do the '*Bir-hors*,' the first word in the compound (Bir-) meaning 'jungle,' and 'hor' or 'horo' being, as we have

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already seen, the national name meaning 'man.' Among the other aboriginal tribes of Chotanagpur, more or less allied to the Mundas, may be mentioned the *Asurs*, the *Agorias*, the *Birjias*, the *Bhumijes* and the *Santals*. Though most of these tribes do not call themselves by the generic name of 'Kol' or any variant of the national name, ethnological observation traces a connection more or less between these close tribes and the Mundas. Philological investigations too, though not always safe tests, point to the same conclusion. And the cumulative evidence of ethnology, philology and mythology seem to justify us in classifying all these tribes as 'Kolarians.' Their undoubted affinities of speech, manners and habits, their similarity of character, their common physiognomy, common traditions and common worship, leave no room for doubt as to their consanguinity and mark them out as congeners sprung of one and the same parent-stock :

Kolarians all, though various in their name,
"The same their nation, and their creed the same."

Sarat Chandra Ray

(To be continued.)

SELECTIONS

THE FOUNDATION OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE

PLASSEY

One might almost think that nature had conspired with man to obliterate all traces of the field of Plassey. To-day, the last tree of the famous grove of mangoes has been cut down by an over-zealous forester in the Indian Service, the hunting lodge has vanished, the plain stretches out, bare as the palm of one's hand, and even the river has cut itself a new channel. Yet there is still ample material for meditation on this deserted battlefield, and it is a thing both characteristic and deplorable that of the thousands of tourists who pour annually through the gates of Calcutta not one in five hundred takes the trouble to make his way out to Plassey, not, perhaps, one in a thousand. Yet, if it had not been for Plassey, there would have been no Calcutta for the tourist to visit to-day, no Indian Empire to make smooth and pleasant his wanderings up and down the great sub-continent.

It is worth while, as the 150th anniversary of the victory comes round, to pause for a moment and realise how this much-quoted and scantily-known battle became necessary, and what its importance really was. There was in Bengal a sovereign prince called Suraj-ud-daula, and with him amicable arrangements had been made by the East India Company for the preservation and prosperity of the Company's factories and fort at Calcutta. For some years, however, there had been among the natives a growing hatred of this foreign colony in their midst. Ultimately, in 1756, despite the warning of an old councillor, who sagely remarked, "These English are like bees; leave them alone and they will make honey for us; disturb them, and they will sting"—Suraj-ud-daula assented to, if he did not actually instigate, the atrocity which is famous as that of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Out of 146 persons crushed into an airless dungeon, eighteen feet square, only twenty-three left it on the following morning alive.

The news of this treachery came slowly to Madras. Clive, already the hero of Arcot, who had only just returned from England, was ordered to sail for Calcutta, and deal with the situation as he

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might find it on his arrival, and with him went Rear-Admiral Watson, who was in command of the warships on the station. Unopposed, the ships made their way up the Hugli, and while still several miles south of Calcutta, Clive landed on the eastern bank, and after a sharp but brief encounter with Suraj-ud-daula's vast but disorganised forces, re-occupied the fort. This was only the beginning of the task, and, after hearing the full tale of treachery, he immediately set to work to find a more satisfactory occupant for the throne of Bengal. He found one ready to hand in the person of Mir Jaffir, a military official of high rank, who was by marriage related to the reigning house. With Oriental readiness, Mir Jaffir entered into the scheme, and the secret agreement between the company and the Nawab-elect was reduced to an instrument of twelve clauses. Suddenly an unexpected danger arose. A native merchant of Calcutta named Omichand, who had been employed as go-between in the negotiations, threatened that unless his share of the treasure were raised from £60,000 to a sum of about £300,000, he would that day disclose the whole scheme to Suraj-ud-daula. This would have involved not merely the ruin of Clive's policy, but the slaughter of Mir Jaffir and his supporters, and the massacre of the English colony at Cosimbazar. Clive acted with his usual readiness. A second treaty was drawn up which included a thirteenth clause, giving Omichand all he demanded, and to this treaty Clive affixed not only his own name, but that of Admiral Watson, in spite of the latter's refusal to sign a treaty that was never intended to be carried out.

Time was thus gained, and Clive moved out to meet the forces of the Nawab, seventy thousand strong. He had with him less than 1,100 white men, 2,100 natives, with a few small guns. It was a terrible risk to try conclusions in the enemy's country on such unequal terms, and Clive had only a half-confidence in Mir Jaffir's intention to abide by the secret treaty. On the night of the 21st of June a council of war was held. Only one question was mooted. Should the army push on or not? It was clear that Mir Jaffir had failed in his first promise to join them at Cutwah with a large force, and his letter of excuse sounded suspiciously like a trap. Moreover, as an old paper of notes in Clive's handwriting before me at this moment, says: "I thought it extremely hazardous to pass a river, in only one place fordable, . . . and risk a battle where, if a defeat had ensued, no man would have returned to tell the station." The question was put, and Clive, contrary to the usual practice, spoke first, and voted against going

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on. In all, thirteen sided for prudence and seven for temerity. The names of the seven were Major, afterwards Sir Eyre, Coote, and Captains Grant, Cudmore, Armstrong, Muir, Campbell, and Clive walked out into the night alone. It was one of those moments that decide the fate of unborn empires, and even then Clive may have dimly guessed the tremendous nature of the issue. His twelve companions had voted for retreat because the danger was very great; his seven opponents had voted for going forward simply because they were soldiers, spurred on by a nice sense of honour. Upon him the real decision fell, and, moving some little way from the bustle of the camp, he tramped steadily up and down upon the river bank in the growing darkness, neither speaking nor listening to any man.

Clive was the last man in the world to turn to dramatic use in after years such a tecming hour as this. It would have been easy for him after his splendid victory to recount the dreams of Empire that spurred him on. But never a word did he ever say; never did he even allude to the one overmastering reason that drove him along his predestined path. All that we shall ever know is that after an hour's solitary communing with himself he returned into the camp, and sent for Major Coote, the second in command. We can picture the contrast between the two men. Coote, a gallant, reckless, and nearly always successful soldier, willing to back his luck against the very stars in their courses, careless of the future, or what either success or victory might bring. Clive, his iron-cut face, that never relaxed into a smile, thrown up in strong relief by the light of the camp fire, worn out with his merciless analysis of issues, of which no other man in the camp could even see the shadows, answers the salute, and says in unmoving accents: "I disregard the decision of the council. We cross the river to-morrow."

Next day, the small column moved on across the river, and, finding themselves in a thick plantation of mangoes at sunset, halted, and set sentries, for the night. Immediately at their left flank was a hunting-box that Suraj-ud-Daula used when pigging or shooting in the neighbourhood, and the French name of it, Plassey, was suggested, with some show of reason, that it had been built by a French architect, who has done a good deal of other work for Ali Vardi Khan, his predecessor on the throne of Bengal. In this small house, Clive spent the night, and as the river mists cleared away in the morning, he saw Suraj-ud-Daula's army but a mile or so away upon the plain—much as Kitchener's small force was many years

later to see the forces of the Mahdi at Omdurman—curving round him in an impenetrable barrier of steel.

The battle opened with a heavy bombardment of the mango grove by Suraj-ud-Daula's French gunners. Luckily there was round the plantation a thick three-foot wall of sunbaked clay, and behind this scanty defence sufficient cover was found for the majority of the English force. The guns, however, had to be worked in the open, and it was, therefore, natural that of the seventy-two casualties suffered by Clive's men, sixteen were claimed by his small force of fifty gunners. A heavy thunderstorm—as at Agincourt—may have settled the fate of Plassey. The enemy's powder was quickly spoiled, and their fire slackened. The English fire redoubled at once, and a lucky shot tore away both the legs of the Nawab's commander-in-chief, Mir Mudden, who died on the spot. The ill-luck was brought to Suraj-ud-Daula, who in terror sent for Mir Jaffir. Casting his turban upon the floor of his tent Suraj-ud-Doula cried, "It is now for you, Mir Jaffir, to defend it." This was the turning point. Mir Mudden's death had left Mir Jaffir in supreme command. The Nawab was evidently a coward, who might take to flight at any moment. In that event Mir Jaffir knew well enough that Clive's victory was certain. Up to that moment Mir Jaffir had held himself apart from the battle, and there can be no doubt that he had been ready to repudiate his agreement with Clive at any moment. But this was another matter, and Mir Jaffir bestirred himself. At any moment his men might join with the Nawab's troops, and Mir Jaffir had known that Clive was a man who never forgave. Whether it was his doing or another's, certain it is that when he left his master's tent the Nawab was in a pitiable state of cowardice. Another cannon-ball roared over his head, and in a panic Suraj-ud-Daula shouted for his fastest elephant, and, with an escort of 2,000 men, turned and ran.

The example was contagious. At first, man by man, then squad by squad and company by company, the Bengali force turned and followed their flying master. Whole battalions threw down their arms and made off in mad panic. Only the French gunners stood their ground in the midst of the general *saue-qui-peut*, and gallantly held their own upon a small knoll until it was clear that defence was no longer possible. Except for Mir Jaffir's men, his flight left the plain empty of the enemy, and all the while upon the flanks of the flying legions the English pursuers hung like hornets for miles on the road to Murshedabad. But Mir Jaffir dared neither fly nor come in. Once he sent out a few men to take his congratulations

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to Clive, but a few cannon-shot, fired in mistake, soon brought their advance to an end. The pursuit was recalled, and Clive bivouacked upon the ground that had been occupied by Suraj-ud-Daula—Plassey had been won, and the first foundation laid of an Empire which, as Lord Curzon wrote the other day, was to be "more enduring than Alexander's, more splendid than Cæsar's."

On the following day, Mir Jaffir came into the camp, walking delicately like Agag. He scarcely knew what to expect, when, to his amazement, Clive, without a trace of anything except the warmest cordiality, congratulated him upon the success of their compact and hailed him as Nawab of Bengal. To make his position doubly sure, news soon came in that Suraj-ud-Daula was dead. He had fled for refuge to a miserable home, imploring for shelter from his own people. It was by a strange chance the hut of a man whose ears and nose Suraj-ud-Daula had himself cut off in sport, and the man took savage revenge at once. The way was now clear, in open durbar Mir Jaffir was installed as Nawab and the secret treaty read out. Omichand sat at one end of a row of notables, fidgetting with excitement. "There is another clause! There is another clause!" shouted Omichand. "There is no other clause," returned Clive, his face impassive as sphinx's. "There is! There is! I have seen it in the red treaty!" "But this is a white treaty. There is no other clause." And Omichand had to be contented with only £60,000, instead of the hanging he richly deserved.

That is, in brief, the story of the founding of our Indian Empire, and as the hundredth and fiftieth anniversary of the battle approaches the world is tempted to ask whether the high duty thus delivered into the care of the English has been discharged well or ill. This has always been a hard question to ask of even the best of the conquering nations, and it is harder than ever in these days of mawkish sentiment. But it will always be to our eternal credit that, whatever our failings elsewhere, the answer in the case of India must even, from our bitterest critics abroad, be an unqualified assent. Should we ever, in our foolishness, set apart a day for self-congratulation for plain duty done and high standards strongly maintained in the face of temptation, our triumph in India can find no other day than June 23.

(The Daily Telegraph).

WHEN THE BRITISH EMPIRE FALLS

"But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked ; thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness ; then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation."—Deuteronomy, xxxii, 15.

When the British Empire falls it will be from two causes : One is our increasing interest in its problems ; the other is our success in solving them. This sounds like a paradox, and so it is. I hasten therefore to add that it does not apply to the self-governing portions of the Empire, but to the countries—like Egypt, India, Ceylon, and the Malay States—where our rule is autocratic or semi-autocratic in principle and in fact. It is with regard to these countries that I maintain that the two greatest perils that confront us are our wanting to know and our ability to achieve. And if I were called upon for my proofs, I should answer by pointing to Lord Cromer's recent report.

If you examine into the average Englishman's sense of empire you find it to consist of a vague pride of ownership and nothing more. Take, for instance, the case of India. The "man in the street" is a whole encyclopaedia of Indian misinformation. The subject is altogether too vast and remote for the ordinary busy citizen. You will find, if you pump him with sufficient diligence, a few tangled recollections of Clive and the Black Hole of Calcutta, some more definite convictions as to Mr. Kipling and the difficulties of the Indian Civil Service Examination, a suspicion that Anglo-Indians are overpaid, and in the background a vast miscellany of jungles, frontier wars, jewels, tigers, famines, white temples, disordered livers, and Russian intrigues.

In other words, he knows nothing about India. It remains for him and for most of us just a brilliant abstraction. You who read this and who are ultimately responsible for what is being done in your name between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin, and who would fight to the last to keep the British Raj intact, could not give a clear outline of even one of the thousand fascinating problems that face the rulers of that fascinating country. A Durbar may jog your interest, a frontier war may even excite it, and some confused notion that Russia needs watching is probably always more or less at work at the back of your mind. But when India is neither particularly spectacular, nor particularly at war, nor particularly harassed by "Russian designs," you find it frankly dull.

I am not urging this as a reproach. Far from it. I rejoice at

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the healthy and judicious indifference of our people. It shows that they possess the true secret of empire. I can imagine nothing more fatal than that India should become a topic on which every Englishman felt bound to have an opinion, and when I say India I mean, of course, every country in which we are ruling Orientals by ways we do not apply to ourselves. Every Englishman for nearly a hundred years has felt bound to have an opinion on Ireland, which is a country not without its streak of Orientalism—and look at the result! Our national genius for not bothering about the principles and daily detailed workings of our imperial rule has been the greatest safeguard of the empire. The empty benches in the House of Commons when such subjects are up are an overwhelming demonstration of political commonsense.

But there are signs that this common sense is passing from us, and is being replaced by an unpolitic curiosity. More and more members are growing fatally interested in the empire, are beginning to ask for streams of fact, are fussing over little incidents, are prying into this and questioning that, and are doing what they can to convert the supremacy of the House of Commons over our alien dependencies from a necessary fiction into an inquisitorial fact. Mr. Byles and Mr. Robertson and their friends typify the spirit and the scope of these activities. They bring to the problem of Oriental government great earnestness, a colossal altruism, no imagination, a profound faith in the democratic idea, and no local knowledge.

This is an impossible equipment for imperial statesmanship, and its increasing favor among our radical sentimentalists is a danger of the first magnitude. When we find in the House of Commons a growing number of men whose conscience will not allow them to be democratic at home and autocratic abroad, who will never be persuaded that one nation's meat may be another nation's poison, who regard all men and all societies as equally capable of self-government, who are obsessed by a mania for political proselytism, and whose instinct is to govern India, and Egypt, and the Malay States on the lines of a somewhat larger Warwickshire, we may be sure England is well on the road to confirming Froude's dictum that "free peoples can not govern subject races."

All democracies sooner or later feel this temptation, and most of them succumb to it. There is nothing the French like better than applying the "principles of 1789" to the natives of the Congo; and the Americans have no other conception of tropical government than that of dumping upon the Filipinos all the privileges of American citizens and all the paraphernalia of democracy. Even

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we, though restrained hitherto by the wholesome apathy of our people and by their instinct for trusting the man on the spot, have foisted upon India and Egypt any number of institutions and contrivances of a purely Occidental character—not in the least because India or Egypt wanted them, but simply because we were used to them at home. •

But there is another and more insidious peril that threatens the empire, a peril that has been created by our very success. The most pregnant though the least noticed sentence in Lord Cromer's report was that in which he practically took upon himself the responsibility for the growth of the Egyptian nationalist idea. "It has been evoked," he said, "by the benefits which, with a rapidity probably unparalleled in history, have been conferred on the country by the introduction of western civilization at the hands of an alien race : and it is surely the irony of political destiny that that race, or the instruments through whom it has principally acted, should be represented as the principal obstacle to the realization of schemes the conception of which is mainly due to their own action."

Those who will ponder on these words and their implications will come very near the heart of the master problem of imperialism. Stated in the broadest terms, that problem is the infinitely arduous and delicate one of escaping the penalties of too much good government. We enter these alien countries determined and able to rule them for their own benefit. We begin by imposing peace and establishing order. We go on to deal out to the peoples under our rule the one novelty that Orientals always appreciate—that of even-handed justice. We pass from this to increasing their prosperity, to educating them, to surrounding their persons and property with innumerable securities. At the same time we preserve to them, with as little interference as possible, their distinctive social and religious customs.

At first the natives, if not grateful, realize at all events that they are better off, and remain passive. Then comes a generation which, having known no other conditions, takes all we have done for it for granted. Meek acceptance gives way to criticism ; criticism passes into abuse ; abuse is developed into a demand for some share in directing the administration we have erected. We yield to that demand and admit natives here and there, in government offices, in local councils, in the lower ranks of the civil and judicial service. The old days of decisive personal autocracy have passed ; the new days of government by system, and a system which acknowledges the representative principle, have come.

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The agitator arises. Each new concession is made a stepping stone to another. Our own sphere of influence contracts and that of native opinion expands. The gulf between rulers and ruled grows daily greater ; clouds of intervening native officials swarm between the administrators and the people. The railways bring a new aid to intercourse and therefore to solidarity and therefore to agitation. We educate more men than we can find employment for and thereby foster discontent. Industrialism comes with all its quickening impulses, and a native press preaches sedition and stimulates an intellectual ferment. The old task of creation was not easy, but it was as nothing by the side of the new task of assimilation.

Thus the very excellence of our rule provides the means for its overthrow, and its material success implies that we are producing the conditions most favourable to its resistance.—Sydney Brooks in *The Daily Mail*.

THE HINDU IDEAL OF WOMANHOOD

Rules of conduct and principles of life for observance by the Hindu are so closely woven with his religion to secure permanency that it has often occasioned the remark that between his " customs and religion no line of distinction can be drawn." The Hindu religion, it is said, is not in reality a religion, but a compound of innumerable beliefs. There is religion in his waking up from slumber early morning to see the sun, religion in his daily bath and food, religion in his study, and in the beginning of discipleship under his master—in fact, in every stage of his life. In religion he lives, moves, and has his being. He is extremely conservative, and the rules of conduct and principles of life are difficult of obliteration when they have the stamp of hoary traditions and religious binding nature attached to them. This holds good nowhere so forcibly as in the Hindu ideal of womanhood. And in the structure of that ideal a religion has been found for the woman to follow it faithfully and rigidly, which would secure for her the wish of her heart, to live a long life of married state, and die as a wife—that is, predecease the husband. The greatest of the South Indian poets says : " The woman that worships not God, but her husband, when such an one says, ' Let there be rain,' it descends." Here is a religion given to the woman to follow, a faith to observe, quite in accordance with the genius of the nation, which in each

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of its component parts and states of life requires in the matter of religion an individuality and speciality to faithfully follow and take pride in. Milton's ideal has a close resemblance when he speaks of Adam and Eve :

"He for God only ; she for God in him,"

Such is the belief instilled into every Hindu girl before she becomes a wife, and a wife she should become. Marriage is binding on her, and no woman is said to fulfil the conditions of the ideal, until and unless she goes through the marriage rites and performs her duties as a married woman. And marriage is a sacrament, a union sanctified in the presence of God before the sacrificial fire, and not a civil contractual relationship.

The first and most important commandment which the Hindu woman is bound to obey is : "Thou shalt have no other lord but thy husband." She shall not marry another, either while he lives or after. If her lot be cast with an unworthy husband, she must bow to the inevitable. If the husband by accident becomes permanently maimed or subject to some loathsome disease, the partner of his joys and woes as well must cheerfully accept the new condition in the spirit of the teaching of her religion. If the husband predeceases the wife, she must face the new situation with a courageous heart, and remain to pray day and night for the repose of his soul, or if, unable to bear the pang of separation, she wishes to wilfully ascend the funeral pyre to be consumed to ashes with her dead husband, her religion allows her to do so. But such an extreme step was purely voluntary, and never was made compulsory. The writer of "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* has missed his mark when he wrote of the "wretched woman" occasionally seeking "in death an escape from present affliction and a miserable widowhood." "Miserable widowhood !" But ask the widow, who cheerfully bears her condition, and she will give another answer. "What will you do after I am gone?" asked a husband of his wife in the early years of the nineteenth century, 'the husband, who occupied an honourable position among Hindus in Madras. "I do not wish to entertain the thought," replied the wife—"the thought of surviving you. However, if it be so ordained, I will not cross the threshold of this house ; this sacred edifice, where you and I spent these years of blessed married life, shall be my only world to live in. I will convert it into a little shrine, from which prayers would go forth daily for your sake. I will eat but one meal a day, just enough to satisfy the cravings of hunger, and spend my time in thinking of you." It so happened that the

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husband predeceased the wife, and the widow kept her word. Then commenced the romance of her life. With the fifty pagodas * pension conferred on her by the East India Company for services rendered by her husband, she soon had an image cast in gold of the deity of the temple which she and her husband frequented, converted a portion of the house into little shrine, installed the image there, and had all the daily worship and festivals performed there, giving what else remained with her to the poor and needy, and taking care not to cross the threshold of the house. She lived this life for nearly fifty years, this life which was gratifying to her, observing rigidly the rites which her religion enjoined her to perform. It so happened that her only sister, living a few houses off in the same street, was taken seriously ill. In her last moments the sick sister expressed a desire to see the widow. No ; she could not cross the threshold of her house. The sick woman passed away with the name of her sister on her lips in her dying moments. And when the bier passed the street on the way to the cremation-ground, the bearers stopped awhile opposite to the house of the sorrowing widow, who came and stood at the threshold of the house—but, of course, not crossing in—and gazed intently upon the face of her lying lifeless on the bier, when a solitary tear stole from her eye ; straightway repressing her grief, and gaining control of herself, she passed inside, and the bier moved on. It was a most distressing sight, and those who witnessed it in that awful moment remembered it most vividly all their lives. To this widow, then, this living was fascinating enough. Her widowhood was not miserable to her, but had an intensity and passionateness which made life worth living. Voluntary immolation on the funeral pyre of the husband was of frequent occurrence before Lord William Bentinck's suppression of it ; it is of rare occurrence now, no doubt, on account of the Act. In olden times the tendencies of thought and feeling gave an impetus to the doing of such deeds. Those times were more romantic, and influenced the minds of women more readily than times modern, when thoughts and feelings have changed according to the altered noble to live and endure, and serve better their departed husbands according to the ideal set before them. The exemplary life which the late Queen Victoria led had the cordial approval of her Indian subjects, and it enhanced their admiration for her, and the women of India regarded her more as one of them than of the people of the far-off island, whose

* About £12.

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modes of life they have become familiar with from those of them sojourning in this land.

This devotion to the departed husband is not confined to the widow only. It is expected in the wife, even in circumstances of unnatural conduct on the part of the living husband. He may spurn her, care not for her ; still, she should not only bow to her lord without a demur, but be loyal to him. Said the South Indian poet : " If the husband should act so as to be the laughing stock of every one, the woman nobly born knows no other than him to whom she was wedded." The story of Nala and Damayanti is familiar to English readers. Damayanti was deserted by the husband in the forest in the middle of the night while she was fast asleep, and left there alone to take care of herself. In the case of Harischandra, he sold away his wife, King though he was, to a hard taskmaster, and showed no sympathy in that hour of her sorest need, when their only son was dead.* And still the loyalty of these two Indian women to their husbands was unbounded. As to Nalayani, the good and faithful wife of her leper husband, what difficulties she suffered, what trials she went through in tending him affectionately and guarding him with the utmost vigilance, denying comfort and rest to her wearied body, are they not related in the songs of every tongue in the land ? Although the daughter of a king, she performed her wifely duties without the least disgust, and took a noble pride in doing this humble service to her lord in sickness. This loyalty consists in being true and faithful to the husband, and remaining spotless and untarnished to receive back the sullied but penitent husband, who comes to after all the bitter experiences of life to find at home peace of mind and rest to the conscience ; aye in being faithful to him after he is gone, and guarding his name most zealously. The story of the South Indian woman who was extremely keen about the good name of her departed husband may not be familiar to English readers, and I make no apology for recounting it here. A thousand years ago, in deadly battle between two powerful kings of Southern India, some of the soldiers of the routed army came running from the battlefield to take refuge in their homes. " What became of my son who went to fight with you ?" said the mother to one of them. " He ~~was~~ in the thickest of the fight," replied the soldier, " but I do not know whether he fell or ran away." The mother concluded that ^{her} son must either have fallen on the field of battle or run away to some

* For a full account of this story, see my " Life in an Indian Village," chap. xii. (T. Fisher Unwin, London).

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other place of safety, for fear of being chided at home by the mother for cowardice, and disowned by her if he returned. Then, taking a sharp knife, she ran to the field of battle, determined to cut away her breast if she did not find him there dead or mortally wounded, in which case he must have run away with the rest. She was certain that in that case the son's cowardice must have been acquired from the milk which he sucked from that breast, and not inherited from her brave husband. At last she was overjoyed to find the worthy son of her husband lying dead on the field of battle gored with wounds, and her husband's name preserved from eternal stain. Such is the spirit of devotion of the Indian woman to her husband ; and a Dutch writer, Dr. Van Limburg Brewer, has indeed caught the spirit of the Hindu ideal in his romance of "Akbar" better than the writer of the *Times* article. When the suggestion was made to the heroine Iravati to bestow her affections on Akbar's son, Prince Selim, afterwards better known as Emperor Jehangir, when she had clear proofs of her husband's faithlessness, the brave Hindu girl made answer : " Our women know nothing of the temptations of greatness where duty and honour are concerned, and to their husband they remain faithful, even if their love is repaid by treachery. There are no bounds to the loyalty of a woman to her husband ; and you know, though you may consider it only the consequence of superstition or exaggerated feeling, with what willing enthusiasm they will throw themselves on the burning pyre that consumes the body of their dead husbands. You must have heard of our holy legends and heroic traditions, which describe the devotion of a wife to one unworthy of her. Doubtless the touching adventure of Damayanti must have come to your ears. Well, as far as in me, lies, I will be another Damayanti. Sidha has deserted me, but when he awakes from his enchantment he will return another Nala, and find me pure from any spot, and acknowledge that I knew better than he how to watch over the honour of his name."

If any condition of life be considered low or miserable it is because the poetry of it has not been written. It is Emerson that wrote in this strain. And how could poetry be written unless there is the living reality to draw the inspiration from ? In truth, there is no condition of life in God's world that is low or miserable. The meanness or the misery is not in the life, but in him who lives that life, who, by importing higher thoughts and nobler passions into that life, makes it really divine. If you wish to know what that life is, go to the land, to the homes of the women who bear their

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pleasures with calmness and their difficulties with fortitude and dignity, hear them sing of the sorrows of Damayanti and Chandramathi, the trials of Nalayani and the troubles of Savithri, and note with what evident satisfaction and pride women similarly placed bear their condition.

The next great condition in that ideal is implicit obedience to the husband. She must obey the husband in whatever he commands her to do. If he requires her to taste of the forbidden poison, which brings on death, she is bound to obey, for disobedience brings all woe and sin into the home—her little world. Woman is born to serve, and not to rule; to obey, and not to command; to be dependent, and not to be independent of the husband. Like the tender creeper, entwining the mighty tree to beautify it with its flowers, and emitting fragrance all round, she is born to shine in the household, to add dignity and grace to life, and give perfume to the ideal household; to assist the husband, to make life pleasant, and make a little heaven of his home. To be obedient is to be divine. She must resign herself entirely to the will of her husband, for it is better to serve in heaven than reign in hell.

Such is the Hindu ideal of womanhood, and well was it understood by a Hindu girl when her Brahmin preceptor asked his pupils as to their future ambitions in life. "I wish to marry the king," said one of them, "and shine as a queen among the daughters of the land." Another, more intellectual, perhaps, than the rest of her sisters, answered: "I wish to marry the minister of the country, and be a true helpmate to him in governing the people wisely and well." A third said: "I wish to be the wife of the general of the army, to put on his armour when he takes leave of me to go to the field of battle, and receive him back with pride and pleasure when he returns home crowned with success." But the little heroine, when her turn came, answered: "I wish to be the good wife at home, to be the queen of my house, the friend and counsellor of my husband, and the general of my little household troop." In this short answer is summed up the poet's ideal of

"A perfect woman, nobly planned,
To warn, to comfort, and command."

Supposing an up-to-date English girl were asked about her ambition in life, how different would be her answer! She would like to become a Member of Parliament, a senior wrangler, or an accomplished athlete. It is this tendency in modern life that made "Rita" deplore: "The intrusion of women into every active or

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intellectual sphere has broken down much of the reserve and reverence of sex for sex. They hail each other equals, and often rivals. But they no longer seem to feel that imperative need of each other which leads to marriage ; in fact, marriage is becoming a tabooed institution, and maternity an evasion, instead of an obligation." This, if true, reveals an awkward state of things. Why, if the woman were to work with man in the sphere which is legitimately his, the world would be richer in its thoughts, in its stock of knowledge, and richer in material acquirements. But oh ! how much poorer would it be in the softer and sweeter side of its life ! There would be less of passion and feeling, less of romance and poetry. Chivalry would be gone, sentiment divorced altogether from the world, and the prosaic dulness of life laid bare in all its dryness ; and perhaps another kind of chivalry forced into existence, where women would go forth armed with the bow and the arrow, or the sword, or even the modern pistol, to avenge the wrong done to weak man. Science would then try hard to find ways and means for women to bring forth children free from the burden of pregnancy and the pains of travail. Then the bearded lady of Barnum's would be no more a freak of nature, but a common enough sight for women to found an argument upon for poaching on man's reserves, exciting no wonder or surprise ; and women would be found vying with men in lecture-rooms and University halls, in the councils of the Empire, and even on the battlefields of the world. But I do not wish to look on this picture, which is foreign to my subject, but only look on that picture of the Hindu ideal of womanhood. The Hindu marriage system has its dark spots, no doubt, notably that part of it which allows man to marry another wife when his wife begets no children or when she dies. Even here man has admitted himself to be the inferior to the woman, and has ranked himself with a lower order of the human kind. He took care to keep her at the highest. He expects from her a higher order of human virtue, purity, and love. And to this high and hard ideal set up our women in all ages have willingly bowed. "In that ideal a higher place is assigned to the woman than to the man. The same principle we see in modern times in the view we take of great men, whom we set up as models to follow and admire. An unpardonable defect in a man of the ordinary type is treated as of no avail, while perhaps a pardonable weakness in a leader of society is magnified into a great vice. Although vulgar man feels he is not able to attain a high standard of morality, he is, nevertheless, very fastidious in exacting

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it of the great men of his country, and to them he willingly bows. He venerates them. So we have done with the woman. We expect from her a greater degree of human excellence. A woman with character pure and unsullied is a more lovable being than a man with similar traits of character in him. Man may err. Woman, she must never. She must be perfection. All the beauty, attractiveness, charm, and grace in human character are centred in the woman. There is a divinity breathing through it all. There is a halo of sacredness ever surrounding her person.”*

The generalizations of Western thinkers have often failed to embrace the whole field coming within the scope of their inquiry ; and states and conditions of human life there are which may not apply to them. The civilization of the subtle East is a subject so vast and complex, often misleading, and at times apparently inconsistent with the genius of its people, that any attempt to generalize may not, after all, be found entirely satisfactory. There is more of imagination and feeling in the Indian world and less of the practical side of life. Hegel has, indeed, recognized a beauty in that world, but he compares it to “that beauty of a peculiar kind in women, in which their countenance presents a transparency of skin, a light and lovely roseate hue, which is unlike the complexion of mere health and vital vigour—a more refined bloom, breathed as it were by the soul within—and in which the features, the light of the eye, the position of the mouth, appear soft, yielding, and relaxed.” He adds that “this almost unearthly beauty is perceived in women in those days which immediately succeed childbirth. Should we look at it more closely, and examine it in the light of human dignity and freedom, the more attractive the first sight of it had been, so much the more unworthy shall we ultimately find it in every respect.”†

Applying these broad generalizations of this keen German critic to this aspect of the Indian world, in its conception of the ideal of womanhood, which I have tried to describe in these pages, let the reader judge whether it has the beauty of enervation to be admired to-day and forgotten on the morrow, or whether, in the actual realities of present-day life, it stands to-day strong and unimpaired, as it stood ages ago, in spite of the many vicissitudes through which the country has passed. (Mr. T. Rama Krishna in *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*).

* *Vide* my romance of “Padmini” (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London).

† “Lectures on the Philosophy of History.”

LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

1. CUNNINGHAM, LT. COL. D.D.—Plagues and Pleasures of Life in Bengal.
 2. DRACOTT, ALICE ELIZABETH—Simla Village Tales (6s)
 3. ELWIN, REV. E. F.—Among the Natives of India.
 4. LYALL, SIR ALFRED—The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India (Revised Edition) (5s.)
 5. MORISON, THEODORE—Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province (10s. 6d.)
 6. OMAN, JOHN CAMPBELL—The Brahmins, Theists and Muslims of India (with illustrations : Rs. 12'4)
 7. RAMAKRISHNA, T.—Romance of Padmini (Swan Sonnenschein & Co.)
 8. REYNOLDS-BALL, EUSTACE.—The Tourist's India (Swan Sonnenschein & Co.)
 9. SCHULTZ, J. W.—My Life as an Indian (6s.)
 10. VASU, SRISACHANDRA—Daily Practice of the Hindus (Panini office : Allahabad)
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ARTICLES ON INDIA IN OTHER REVIEWS

QUARTERLY REVIEW—Indian Poverty and Discontent.

AGRICULTURAL JOURNAL OF INDIA—The trial of
Exotic Drought-Resisting Plants in India: F. G.
Sly, I.C.S.

EAST AND WEST—Our Legislative Councils: Raja
Prithwipal Singh

INDIAN ANTIQUARY—Archæology in Western Tibet:
Rev. A. H. Francke

THE EAST AND THE WEST—The Waning Influence of
Non-Christian Religions in India: Rev. Hector
McNeile

JOURNAL OF THE MOSLEM INSTITUTE—Rig Veda:
C. Russell

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY—
Phallus-Worship in the Mahabharata: B. C. Mazumder

MODERN REVIEW—The Present State of Indian Art:
Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy

CALCUTTA REVIEW—The Little Port of Bengal: Kiran
Nath Dhur.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS—The Crisis in India (Being a
Symposium of Representative Indian Opinion)

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE—(August) Disaffection in
India: E. F. Law.

IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW
(July)—Indian Pottery: R. F. Chisholm.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

India's Trade with Neighbouring Countries

India's land trade between the adjoining countries of Afghanistan, Tibet, Persia, Baluchistan, Kelat, Dir, Swat, Kashmir, Bajaur, and the Southern Shan States amounted last year to £8,500,000, against £7,760,000 in 1905 and £7,146,660 in 1904.

The Indian Rupee

The Indian rupee is used in Ceylon and in various parts of East Africa. The net export of rupees by sea in the five years 1901-2 to 1905-6 amounted to Rs. 2,97,98,586 = £1,986,600. The exchange between India and Singapore, which has a gold standard, is practically stationary ; but the exchange with China and Hong-kong, which have a silver standard, is subject to variation, due, no doubt, to changes in the price of silver.

An Arya Samajist Deported

It is said that a certain Dani Ram, President of the Abbottabad Arya Samaj, abused the Prophet in the bazar, with the result that the Mahomedan community became exasperated ; but instead of breaking out in disorderly riots they sought the protection of the law courts and the Chief Commissioner, N. W. F. Province. The Chief Commissioner has ordered the deportation of Dani Ram which has calmed down all turbulent passions. Dani Ram is to be for one year out of Abbottabad.

The Bengal 'Unrest'

The Calcutta Anglo-Indian editors have sent in a joint note to the British Press stating that the situation in Bengal has been grossly exaggerated in England, and that such a thing as a general 'unrest' does not exist in these provinces. This is an 'honest' statement, but nobody thinks that it will ever succeed in shaking any of the 'settled' convictions of 'honest' John at Whitehall. At any rate, the statement is not likely to do any party any harm excepting the men on the spot and Reuter's agency in India.

The Nickel Anna

The latest addition to the Indian currency is the coin made of nickel with scooped edge which is meant to stand good for an anna. Nickel is so unfamiliar a metal in India and the real need

of an anna-bit is so little outside the important cities that it is extremely unlikely that the average peasant or the artisan in the country will ever take to it kindly. But there can be no doubt that it will come very handy to every railway passenger and Anglo-Indian resident in this country, who find the coppers too dirty and inconvenient and the two-anna silver bit too small to take care of and too valuable for ordinary 'tips.'

Wonderful Old Terracotta Pictures.

The report of the Superintendent of the Archeological Survey, Burma, records an interesting discovery of terra-cotta reliefs, with Pali inscriptions, dating back to the eleventh century A. D., at Petleik Pagoda, Pagars. These reliefs illustrate scenes in the life of Buddha, and unlike most others of a similar kind, are vigorously modelled, and almost as clear and sharp as on the day they left the kiln, about the time England was being conquered by the Normans. Each terra-cotta bears a number corresponding to the number of the story depicted in the Jataka, and the whole form an authentic record of the orthodox Buddhist iconography of the eleventh century, besides being specimens of art which is described as of no mean order.

Railway Gauges in India

The battle of the gauges has not yet been won. On several occasions the Railway Board of India has been urged to insist upon one uniform gauge being adopted, and to undertake the transformation of the existing lines to one common gauge. There is, however, considerable dispute among engineers as to which gauge, the standard or the metre, should be adopted. Seeing, however, that there are about 15,500 miles of wide gauge railway and about 14,000 miles of metre gauge at present open for traffic in the country, the Railway Board may well be forgiven for its reluctance to embark upon so ambitious a scheme as the creation of one uniform gauge for the whole country. A fair specimen of the confusion that is caused through the existence of two gauges on the main trunk lines of India is provided in the case of the great new railway bridge that is being built across the Ganges in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. It is proposed to carry across this bridge two tracks of metre gauge railway, though the existing main lines to the Indian capital are of the wider gauge.

A Himalayan Record

Dr. T. G. Longstaff, who is reported in a brief telegram from India to have reached the summit of a Himalayan peak 23,406

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feet high, is only one of the members of an expedition none the less interesting because its proceedings have not been widely advertised. Accompanying Dr. Longstaff, we understand, are the Hon. Charles Granville Bruce, who has seen much active service in Indian campaigns, and who climbed in the Himalayas some years ago with Sir Martin Conway and Mr. Mumm, of the Alpine Club. The expedition was originally planned in the hope that the Imperial Government would countenance an attempt to achieve the ascent of Mount Everest. As Mr. George Goldie made known earlier in the year, Mr. Morley withheld his consent from such an enterprise on grounds of Imperial policy. It was decided, however, not to abandon the expedition, but to modify the programme, and do the best mountaineering work possible in the circumstances, with the result that a new Himalayan record is said to have been established.

King Edward VII on Indian Plague

His Majesty the King of England has addressed the following letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated Buckingham Palace, 14th August, 1907.

My dear Viceroy,—I have followed with anxious interest the later course of that epidemic of plague by which India has for eleven years past been so sorely afflicted. The welfare of my Indian subjects must ever be to me an object of high concern, and I am deeply moved when I think of the misery that has been borne with such silent patience in all those stricken homes. I am well aware how unremitting have been the effort of Your Excellency's predecessors and yourself to make out the causes of the pestilence and to mitigate its effects. It is my earnest hope and prayer that the further measures now being prepared by Your Excellency in consultation with zealous and able officers may be crowned with merciful success. I desire you to communicate this expression of my heartfelt sympathy to my Indian subjects. Believe me, my dear Viceroy, sincerely yours, Edward, R. I.

India Council Bill

The India Council Bill, which has just been passed by the House of Commons, runs as follows:—A Bill to amend the Law as to the Council of India. Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—1. The Council of India shall consist of such number of members, not less

than ten and not more than fourteen, as the Secretary of State may from time to time determine. 2. In section ten of the Government of India Act, 1858, the words "more than five years" shall be substituted for the words "more than ten years." 3. Section thirteen of the same Act shall, as regards any member appointed after the passing of this Act, be read and construed as if the words *one thousand pounds* were substituted for the words *one thousand two hundred pounds*. 4. Section two of the Government of India Act, 1869, shall, as regards any appointment made after the passing of the Act, be read and construed as if the word "seven" were substituted for the "ten." 5. The Council of India Act, 1876, and the Council of India Reduction Act, 1889, are hereby repealed. 6. This Act may be cited as the Council of India Act, 1907.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Coal-mining in Bengal

There were 146 coal-mines at work during the year 1905-6. The total outturn was 7,234, 103 tons, as compared with 7,063,680 tons in the preceding year. Of the total output, the Raniganj and Jherria coalfields contributed no less than 6,333,124 tons. The daily average number of people employed in the coal-mines was 74,071.

New Factories in The United Provinces.

Twenty-one new factories were established and registered in the United Provinces during the year 1906. Among these were a tannery and some oil-mills in Cawnpore and a soap factory and general mills in Meerut. In the Aligarh district alone twelve ginning factories were opened and registered, a noteworthy feature of this development being that one of the most influential Mahomedan landlords of the district entered into the industry. All told there were 154 factories at work, employing 47,809 hands. No complaints, it is said, were made as to any difficulty in obtaining labour, the Magistrate of Cawnpore remarking that almost every mill had as many unskilled labourers as it wished to employ.

Rubber-Growing in India

According to an American Consular Report from Bombay, experiments in rubber-growing have been tried in Assam by the British Colonial Forest Department, and 14,010 lbs. were produced from the *Ficus elastica* during the last fiscal year.

In Burma also the Government is trying to encourage the grow-

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ing of rubber, and a beginning has been made. The growth of the rubber trade of Ceylon has been phenomenal, the total of Ceylon-grown rubber being 168,247 lbs. in 1905 and 327,028 lbs. in 1906. The great bulk of this rubber is shipped to Great Britain, the United States, and Germany in quantities in their order named.

It has been proved that large tracts of India's humid coast are favourable for rubber production, but so far little has been done to develop the industry.

Glass Manufacture in India.

Apropos of glass manufacture, the Calcutta Commercial correspondent of the *Pioneer*, says that he has been enquiring about the local manufacture of glassware, and has been told that it has been proved to be an impossibility in the plains on account of the unsuitable temperature, the result being a very brittle glass. He adds :—" I am told that certain experiments are now being conducted in the hills to see if the temperature question can be got over. The fact that we have within easy range of Calcutta two deserted glass-works, the second being started in the teeth of the warning of the first failure, makes it certain that the obstacles, whatever they may be, are severe. The annual value of the glass import is over Rs. 1¼ crore, and it is certain that all the materials are to be readily found in this country, so that it should be a Swadeshi enterprise if that were possible, as should paper, stationery, soap and matches."

Agricultural Machinery for India

In most agricultural countries, and more particularly in America and Australia, the self-binding reaper is largely in vogue. In India, however, presumably owing to a plentiful supply of cheap labour, these time-saving machines have little scope outside of the new canal colonies in the Punjab. There, according to the Indian Government's trade journal, labour is scarce at all times, and was particularly so during the past wheat harvest owing to the plague scare. One of the results of this state of affairs is that eight reaping machines were at work in the canal colonies last season. These colonies are rapidly extending, and, as each extension tends to enhance the labour difficulty, there are fairly clear indications that labour-saving machines for the heavy wheat harvest are more or less urgently required; but a correspondent, who is *au fait* with the situation, expresses the opinion that a manual delivery combined reaper and mower will be more useful to the farmer in the canal colonies than a string binder.

Indian Railway Working

The ratio of Indian working expenses to traffic receipts, although still moderate, shows a tendency to increase. In the second half of last year the ratio advanced from 46.16 per cent. to 48.81 per cent. upon the Bengal and North-Western Railway; from 47.53 per cent. to 53.13 per cent. upon the Bengal and Nagpur Railway; from 46.05 per cent. to 51.35 per cent. upon the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway; from 36.49 per cent. to 39.56 per cent. upon the East India Railway; from 53.66 per cent. to 54.69 per cent. upon the Great Indian Peninsula and the Indian Midland Railways; from 58.56 per cent. to 67.83 per cent. upon the Madras Railway; from 42.64 per cent. to 47.72 per cent. upon the Rohilkund and Kumaon Railway; and from 62.54 per cent. to 67.68 per cent. upon the Southern Mahratta Railway. In the case of the Southern Punjaub Railway the ratio remained at 52 per cent. in both half-years. Upon the Bengal and Dooars Railway there was a decline from 49.31 per cent. to 40.75 per cent.; and upon the Nizam's State lines from 50.35 per cent. to 49.60 per cent. The moderation of Indian railway working charges is largely due to the extensive employment of natives. In 1905, out of 452,058 persons comprising Indian railway staffs, 436,328 were natives.

Fisheries in Bengal

Mr. K. G. Gupta's report on the Bengal Fisheries, recently published, assuredly does not furnish evidence of labour and erudition of a very high order. None the less, the facts marshalled in it ought to furnish interesting reading to persons industrially disposed. The fish supply of Bengal comes principally from (1) its tanks (2) its rivers, (3) its seas and estuaries (4) from the Chilka Lake and, in Calcutta, from a few salt lakes in the Suburbs. Mr. Gupta notes that the methods of fishing in vogue in Bengal is resulting in the practical depletion of valuable fisheries. He has however no suggestions to make to develop this source of fish-supply without a first-hand study of the methods of Canada or of the United States. The estuarine fisheries are amply replenished by nature and the only thing to care about here is to catch them and transmit them for sale to busy haunts of men. Greater enterprise, improved methods of fishing and efficient means of transit in cool chambers ought to develop this source of supply very greatly. The suggestions made under this head are none very useful, nor those relating to the development of main fishery. Some fishing in open sea is done

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on the Orissa coast by fishermen from the Madras side. Local fishermen, it seems, won't do ; they have odd prejudices and fears. Besides the sea is usually none too friendly. Evidently there is nothing to be done for it but to let things alone. Upon the Chilka Lake and the Salt Lakes of Calcutta, Mr. Gupta looks with large hopes for marine and estuarine fish. For the present his main suggestions is the establishment of a Fishery Board on the lines of similar institutions elsewhere. The function of this Board would consist of (1) introducing and familiarising (a) suitable and properly-equipped boats, (b) improved and up to date methods of capture and transport (c) accelerated service both by land and water (d) various methods of preserving fish (e) utilisation of the waste products of fish for industrial purposes ; (2) training fishermen ; (3) encouraging enterprise ; (4) diffusing useful information : (5) carrying on scientific investigation ; (6) engaging the services of experts ; and (7) establishing institutions for giving instruction in both the scientific and practical aspects of the industry.

We feel sure that our countrymen cannot do better than turn their attention to an organisation for the development of fish supply if they don't want to be hustled out of this industry by the foreigner. In every line of Mr. Gupta's report we see the shadow of a foreign invasion approaching insidiously. Bengal had better beware of this in time.

The Forests of India

Systematic conservancy of the Indian forests is based on the Forest Law of 1878, which gave to the Government powers of dealing with private rights in the forests of which the chief proprietary right is vested in the State. The principle upon which the forest administration is based is, says the recent Blue Book on the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, that State forests should be administered for the public benefit, and they are worked, therefore, with a view of combining all reasonable facilities for their use by the public with the protection necessary for their preservation as sources of fuel and timber and retainers of moisture in the soil. The forests are classified, according to the degree of completeness of the management undertaken, as "reserved," "protected," or "unclassed" forests. In the case of reserved areas, the control of the Forest Department is more complete than in the case of the protected or unclassified forests. In the latter category, the area of which cannot be stated with any great exactness, there are included large tracts of uncultivated land, especially in Burma, much of which will, in all probability, pass into cultivation as

agricultural land. Among the most important measures of conservancy are the exclusion, so far as possible, of the yearly fires which used to devastate the forests, the maintenance of a supply of seed-bearing trees, and the regular reproduction of timber of the more valuable kinds. At the present time the reserves cover an area of nearly 92,000 square miles, and they may hereafter be further extended in Madras and Burma, where the work of reservation is as yet incomplete. Outside the reserves there are about 150,800 square miles of State forests, including 9,400 square miles of protected forests, nearly 9,100 square miles of "district protected forests" in the United Provinces, and small area of leased forests. Some part of this area will eventually be brought within the "reserve" area, and all of it is, with more or less completeness, managed and worked for the benefit of the people, of their cattle, and of the public revenue. The limited areas of private forests are, except where they have been leased to the Government, being gradually exhausted, and few private communal or village forests have been successfully brought under conservancy. In every province a very few of the most valuable timber trees are declared to be reserved trees and can only be felled under special license. Outside the reserves, the country folk are generally allowed to obtain from the State forests timber, bamboos, firewood and grass for their own use free of charge; inside the reserves, persons specially licensed are allowed to extract timber or other produce on payment of fees, though all rights recognised by the forest settlements are preserved to the public. Forest revenue is raised by royalties on, or by the sale of, timber or other produce and by the issue at specified fees of permits to graze cattle or to extract for sale timber, firewood, charcoal, bamboos, canes, and minor forest produce. Some of the better-managed native States, such as Kashmir, Mysore, Travancore, and Baroda, have followed the example of the British Government and organised a systematic forest administration and enjoy a considerable forest revenue.

Factory Labour In India : Report of the Committee

The report of the Textile Factories Labour Committee appointed to enquire into the conditions of factory labour in India is published in the "Gazette of India" of June 1. It occupies 78 pages of that publication and reviews the whole ground traversed during the inquiry, a summary of the Committee's labours being given in the "Gazette." The duties of the Committee were not originally confined to textile factories, but it was subsequently decided that the

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scope of the inquiry should extend to textile factories only. The Indian Factories Act does not discriminate between textile and non-textile factories, but a proposal made to the Government that the definition in the English Factory Act should serve as a guide was approved.

The report (which is signed by Sir Hamilton P. Freer-Smith, President, Lieut.-Colonel J. F. MacLaren, I.C.S., and Dr. J. A. Turner, Members), contains the following definite suggestions made by the Committee :—

1. That there may be as little delay as possible in giving effect to proposals in contemplation for improving the homes and home surroundings of mill-hands.

2. That arrangements be made to secure uniformity of administration of the Factory Act throughout India.

3. That the systems of inspection, the strength and composition of the staff of Inspectors should be considered with a view to securing efficiency.

4. That Medical Inspectors whose whole time should be devoted to their duties under the Factories Act be appointed.

5. That certificates of age and physical fitness for employment be required prior to half-time employment, and prior to employment as an adult.

[That these certificates be in the form suggested in the body of the report, and that they be the personal property of the persons to whom they apply.]

6. That consideration be given to the suggestion made by many experienced witnesses that elementary teachers to be paid by the mill-owners should be appointed for instruction of half-time children in suitable places on the mill premises.

7. That clear and definite laws be made, requiring that half-time children shall be employed only in sets—either on the morning and afternoon set system or the double set system largely adopted in Indian mills.

That efficient measures be taken to secure that the children work only in their proper sets, and that the prescribed hours of labour are not exceeded.

8. That night work of women be prohibited.

9. That by suitable administrative regulations young children should be prevented from accompanying their parents to rooms in which they incur risk from running machinery or the inhalation of dust or impure vapours.

10. That the period of employment in Indian factories shall be

either between the hours of 5-30 a.m. and 6 p.m. or 6 a.m. and 6-30 p.m.

That the engine shall cease running for half an hour between the hours of noon and 2 p.m.

Provided that in factories working on the day-shift system the period may be between 5 a.m. and 8 p.m., but the actual period of employment for male adults shall never exceed twelve hours in any one day. Where from the nature of the work day and night shifts are necessary, the period of employment for adult males shall not exceed twelve hours in any twenty-four.

11. That the names of all persons under the age of 16 years be entered in the prescribed register, but that certificates of age and physical fitness be only required up to the age of 14 years.

12. That samples of air collected under prescribed conditions be taken in works in all parts of India, with a view to hereafter decide upon a suitable standard of ventilation.

13. That wet and dry bulb thermometers be placed in all humid cotton cloth factories, readings taken at fixed times, and returns forwarded monthly; these returns to be eventually considered with a view to deciding the amount of moisture necessary for manufacturing processes, bearing in mind the health of the operatives.

14. That a standard of a purity for water to be used for introducing moisture into the mills and factories be fixed.

15. That the dates of lime-washing be entered in prescribed register.

16. That particular attention be paid to carrying off dust when generated in quantities likely to cause injury to health.

17. That when inquiries now going on are complete, should it be found that workers in woollen mills are liable to contract anthrax, the special precautions framed under the English Factory Act be considered.

18. That the latrine accommodation be increased to one seat for every twenty-five persons and that separate urinal accommodation be provided in all mills.

19. That doors in the various rooms be hung in such a way that they can be immediately opened from inside and be constructed so as to open outwards.

(This is recommended as a safety measure in case of fire).

20. That in certain respects—chiefly in ginning mills—more attention be paid to the fencing of dangerous mill gearing and machinery.

LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS

DISAFFECTION IN INDIA

English and Anglo-Indian writers are literally running mad after sedition, unrest, anarchy and disaffection in India. Almost every newspaper that reaches us from England and every selected periodical that is sent out to us by our news-agents in London contains stories of a more or less startling nature dealing with the current tension of feeling among the millions of India. English ex-officials who have long eaten the salt of India and have retired in their island home with big pensions cannot conceive of a better recreation than denouncing our legitimate aspirations in every possible way. From Lord Curzon downwards, writers of all description are trying their level best to cry down the present national movement in India. It is therefore no wonder that Sir Edward Fitzgerald Law, who was for some time Finance Member of the Government of India under Lord Curzon, should come forward to enlighten the world, through the pages of the current number of the *Blackwood's Magazine*, with his views in connection with the present state of affairs in India. The article occupies full eighteen pages of the Magazine, and we doubt very much if one would find leisure enough in these busy days to go through the entire length of this ponderous paper.

The subjects discussed in the article are neither very carefully thought out nor very ably dealt with. At the very outset, the writer characterises our political leaders as 'unscrupulous agitators' and expresses his opinion that the arrest of the principal of them and a sufficient display of force should be sufficient to maintain order in the present circumstances. In view of the widespread spirit of unrest and discontent, Sir Edward is rather compelled to admit that there must be certain 'serious defects' in the prevailing system of Government. It is stated in the next place that the present unrest is attributable to 'a faulty system of education, to the license admitted to a gutter press, to the lowering of British prestige by a series of untoward incidents and to the want of touch between officials and the people.' In connection with education, the writer points out that the men in charge of the department, both in the central government and in the provincial

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governments, have positions and salaries hardly adequate to the importance of their functions and that even were they the pick of the educational world their powers are regrettably limited by the bureaucratic system. The Indian educational system neither gets the pupils most likely to profit by University teaching nor gives the kind of instruction that would be of use to the Indians. The writer cannot believe in any permanent improvement until the directors of public instruction have direct access to the chief executive officers in their respective provinces and a sensible increase of salary in the higher ranks is effected. It is the Universities and colleges which, according to the writer, are to-day the 'nurseries of discontent and therefore of disloyalty in India.' In connection with the Universities Act, Sir Edward thinks that it does not provide for the selection of youths fitted to profit by such education as the Universities give ; and, moreover, it does not provide for the giving of a practical education suited to fit the student to earn his living after leaving the University. The writer is strongly of opinion that the absence of such provision is a radical defect in the Indian University system and that 'this defect has induced the gravest and most prejudicial political consequences.' Will the Universities accept Sir Edward's latter suggestion and provide for professional and technical education of Indian youths ?

It is very kind of Sir Edward to still remember the Bengali officials of the Indian Finance Department, many of whom, according to him, are men of 'excellent solid brains and capacity, who are thoroughly fitted to take a high place in any European administration and need not fear western competition.' Nearly all such men whom the writer has met belong to old and respectable families, but he is not sure if they always receive the full measure of promotion which is their due. Will the Government of Lord Minto take this broad hint ?

Sir Edward Law considers it reasonable that the course of preparation for each and every important career should be thought out and decided by committees of experts in the different branches, and that the care of the University Governing Boards should be directed towards the preparation of youths to meet the requirements indicated by the experience of competent experts. With regard to the new post of the Director General of Education, the writer confesses in a manner of the failure to the experiment and is of opinion that the bureaucratic system keeps that official in a very subordinate position and restricts his usefulness to the greatest possible extent.

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Turning to 'the native press and its proper treatment,' Sir Edward does not find it an easy task to realise the constant 'wild extravagances of Indian journalists.' He is strongly of opinion that a constant wholesome control over the press in India is an absolute necessity, and a useful measure would probably be 'to prohibit the issue of any journal the proprietors of which did not contribute annually to Government a certain minimum sum under the head of income-tax.' In a most offensive manner, the writer expresses the view that the press in India should not be allowed to publish vituperative or seditious articles. He would have some form of control secured, so that an offending journalist would have his plant confiscated. So great is the audacity of the writer that he goes so far as to assert that some of our newspapers are printed 'with type stolen from Government.'

Sir Edward Law then regrets that assaults on British residents and British soldiers should go unpunished, and wants all 'evil-disposed natives' to know that unoffending British soldiers cannot be ill-treated with impunity. This is all very good and patriotic, but is Sir Edward aware of the fact that the Imperial Anglo-Indian has not got his spleen as much enlarged as that of the 'truculent native'?

Assaults of the above kind have, according to the writer, brought about a loss of British prestige in India. These assaults are said to have become of frequent occurrence. The writer seems to be extremely anxious for maintaining the prestige of the white man in India, for, 'prestige,' he says, 'is everything in the East.'

As has been hinted at in a foregoing paragraph, the writer does not approve of the bureaucratic system of Government obtaining in India. He is in favour of wholesale decentralisation. He considers that governorships and lieutenant-governorships with all their paraphernalia are a huge mistake to-day, a relic of times when nearly all conditions and circumstances were different. What is required, says Sir Edward, is a large number of Chief Commissionerships of moderate size. He cites a recent Turkish incident to illustrate the unsuitability of European procedure in oriental affairs and remarks that the development of communications by railway and telegraph has been a curse as regards efficient administration.

Referring to the boycott of British goods in the bazaars of Bengal, Sir Edward seems to think that the boycott throughout the province might be stopped could the Government do something 'to favour the prestige of the British Raj in the Calcutta bazaar.' We wonder how the writer comes to the conclusion that 'the

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provincial bazaars are dominated by the Calcutta bazaar.' Another astounding statement made by the writer in this connection is that Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore is a 'merchant-prince' of Calcutta! The best portion of the article, however, comes last as will be evident from the following lines: "I would urge before all things the necessity of reforms, well thought out in detail, which should enable and encourage the British official to live more among the people and with the people in sentiment and sympathy. Well-turned phrases on justice to the native are of no avail with Orientals. The kindly heart and just nature are perhaps better appreciated in India than in most lands, but a fair field must be found for their influence under favouring conditions."

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'A European Onlooker' contributes a very thoughtful and sympathetic paper on the above subject to the pages of the July *Hindusthan Review*. The Indian Party, says the writer, is divided into a great many schools of thought, but it may be broadly classed under two heads—the Extremists and the Moderates. Most of the followers of either school possess such a hazy idea of their 'mission' that one cannot but weep over the destiny of the great *Bharat-varsha*.

In connection with the obstacles in the way of Indian progress, the first thing that strikes the writer is the softening effect of western culture. In his eager attempts to play the *Sahib*, the educated Indian assumes a most ludicrous figure. He does not hesitate to talk irreverently of his ancients, which any Westerner would shrink from doing. He should remember that nations rise by force of moral conservatism, strength of character and integrity of purpose, but never by doctrines fashioned to the varying hour. Lost to all spiritual faith, haunted with no saving perception of the Deity, the educated Indian is an agnostic to the backbone. To a cultured Englishman agnosticism is an abomination. The educated Indian jumps to the absurdity that Culture and Science cannot walk hand-in-hand with Religion and Piety. The writer advises him to refer to history and see for himself whether any irreligious nation has ever played any important part in history. He should remember that religion is the only incentive to noble deeds and lofty endeavours. The frenzy of religion runs like wild-fire, obstacles obviously the most insurmountable vanish into nothingness, and deeds are accomplished in the enthusiasm of the moment which

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would surprise the men performing them in their sober moment. But once that the love of religion ceases to exist, liberty and progress desert the nation, and it may reconcile itself to its object before it would strive against evil. The writer justly points out this sort of materialism to be the second obstacle to the path of Indian progress, and, observes in passing, that when the Vedantic Philosophy enthralled the minds of Kant, Schopenhauer, Max Muller and other European thinkers, it argues the height of folly and depravation that it cannot satisfy the sons of the soil for whose spiritual advancement it was inculcated. Though the Christian conception of the Trinity is not half so perfect as the Vedantic conception of सत्, चित् and आनन्दम्, still no honest Christian would ever dream of disavowing Christianity. Granting that the Hindu religion was not what it is, the fact that it is his own must outweigh all other considerations. The writer exhorts all educated Indians not to abandon their religion, as it is the greatest working power in a nation ; secondly, as it offers lasting sources of happiness to which careworn man falls back in times of pressing need ; and thirdly because it is the best that man has ever possessed.

The next hitch to Indian progress, according to the writer, is the want of self-reliance in the nation. So much are the people accustomed to official assistance that they cannot lead any undertaking to a happy close without the interference of the Government, directly or indirectly. Taking the case of education, the writer states that almost all the educational institutions in India, with the exception of four, are either directly maintained by the Government or receive its grants-in-aid, without which they could not be kept up to the collar. But in England the case is different ; Oxford and Cambridge stand as object lessons of public munificence and would never have attained the reputation of being the nurseries of culture were it not for the sympathy and response on the part of the public. An objection is often raised that India is a poor country and therefore the public cannot afford to spend so much money on education as the European public can. In reply to this, the writer says that the money India spends on wine and other luxuries exceeds that spent by the whole of the United Kingdom. Whence then, asks the writer, does this money flow out ? National progress requires that the individuals constituting the nation must be alive to its needs and ready to help it with their purse or person as the occasion demands. So long as this is not the case, the state of the nation is hopeless.

The fourth obstacle referred to by the writer is the Extremist

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party. He cannot help reckoning it with disfavour. That the party is allowed to exist is a great shame. The extremists are characterised as visionaries dreaming of things unrealisable. To carry out their programme to the letter would require a spirit of self-denial and patriotism which have never existed in any country. The idea of boycotting Government offices and everything foreign is disposed of by the writer as foolish. For a thorough progress he considers it necessary that the extremists themselves should be boycotted, fond as they are of the word 'boycott.' The fifth and by no means the least important hindrance comes from the Anglo-Indian press. It is bent upon poisoning the minds of the rulers against the ruled by condemning every Indian movement as anti-British. The resistance thus offered is great and not a little harm is done to the Indian cause. The Indian press is stigmatised, in season and out of season, for its utter disregard for truth ; the writer passes the same sentence on most of the Anglo-Indian papers whose coloured statements in critical times make no approach to an exact delineation of the situation.

The last draw-back spoken of by the writer is the strained feeling between the Hindus and Mahomedans of India. As a result of their unremitting exertions, the Anglo-Indian papers have, to a certain extent, succeeded in creating a split between these two great sections of the people by flattery on the one hand and vilification on the other. As becomes a sincere friend, the writer advises us to remove these obstacles. If all this were done, we might, according to the writer, justify our glorious heritage and establish a claim as well to be considered as one of the leading nations of the world.

THE STATUS OF OUR WOMEN

'Save your women,' cries out a *Swadeshi* in the August number of the *Modern Review*. No nation, according to the writer, has ever risen by devoting its attention exclusively to matters political. There are other departments of human activity which demand our equal or perhaps greater attention. Among other things, the present condition of our women is a perennial source of weakness. The writer maintains that our women are not wanting in those numerous qualities of heart which go to adorn an ideal woman. Their cheerful self-effacement for the object of their love is beyond all praise. In charity, simplicity, modesty, constancy and devotion,

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Indian women may safely be held up as models to the rest of the world. But there is one part of her nature which has been woefully neglected. Our responsibility in this respect is awful and no amount of sophistry can atone for our past neglect.

In ancient times our women were seldom called upon to undertake long journeys ; but, for a variety of reasons, travelling by railway has now become as much a necessity for women as for men. Their utter ignorance exposes them to all sorts of dangers. According to the writer, we ourselves are indirectly responsible for the many petty insults and indignities to which our women are so often subjected while travelling. We bring them up under such conditions and in such an atmosphere that they become incapable of saving even their own honour. They are so ignorant that, outside their own homes, they lose all their wits and cannot protect themselves. This was not so in earlier days, for history bears testimony to the fact that Kshatriya women of old even went to wars. Instead of such brave women we have now got a race of women who are unable to defend themselves against ruffians and miscreants. The writer unhesitatingly says that the fault is men's.

The writer regrets that most of us who talk so glibly on public platforms about political emancipation do not move our little fingers when a woman is actually being insulted or ill-treated in our presence. In this we should take a lesson from the Europeans who are always careful about preserving the honour of their women. We should actively help the weak and the oppressed and our first anxiety should be to see that no country-woman of ours is insulted either by our own countrymen or by foreigners. Let us create a public opinion that will cry shame on the man who suffers a woman to be insulted in his presence without doing his utmost to prevent it. The weapon of boycott is very useful. Let us boycott those who have not got the heart or the courage to protect women against trouble, wrong or indignity. Let them be ostracised completely. It is only when such a feeling will grow up amongst us, and the dignity of womankind will be recognised, that our women will be safe from the dangers that exist at the present day.

The writer warns us against making *mem sahibs* of our ladies. It is bad enough in all conscience that we are becoming *saheb logs*. The writer advises us to preserve our ancient type of civilization and proceed cautiously along national lines. It is undeniable that the East has much to learn from the West. This appears to the writer to be one of the reasons why both have been brought by an all-wise Providence together in India. Let India follow the example

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of Japan. As a distinguished Japanese once said that everything his country learnt from others was first made Japanese. So let everything that India learns from the West, North or South, be made *Swadeshi* first. Therein lies our hope for progress. Imitating no one blindly, rejecting nothing valuable from whatever source it may come, we should go on improving our present social polity.

The writer has not noticed the numerous reasons that call for an immediate change in our treatment of our women. He has only mentioned one which seems to him to be a strong plea for this change. The others will suggest themselves even to a casual observer. Who does not, for instance, know how many of our poor ladies are robbed right and left by cunning men when they come to be in possession of either a large amount of money or a big estate? They are often incapable of managing their own affairs, and in spite of the especial protection afforded by law they are unable to preserve their property. The writer should very much like to see a scheme of National Education for girls as well. With our women steeped in the very depths of ignorance, all talk of progress appears to the writer to be futile. The education of girls is not a matter of luxury but one of prime necessity. Agitate for political rights by all means, but first of all, in the name of all that is sacred, *save your women*.

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

The July number of the *Hindusthan Review* contains a short and interesting paper on *National Education in India* by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. The doctor is a distinguished scientist of European reputation and was, up to a recent date, in charge of the Geological Department of Ceylon. Last year he paid a visit to Calcutta and addressed the young men of the metropolis on a variety of topics—one of the subjects of his discourse being the ‘Anglicization of the East.’ It was really a sight to look up to that tall, stalwart, well-proportioned and beautiful figure of a man, who was brought up in England from his early boyhood, dressed like a true Indian with a *pugree* on his head, indicative of the thorough assimilation of the *Swadeshi* principles and the deep aversion to anglicization. So it is no wonder that we find him lamenting the anglicization of education and preaching for education organised *by ourselves* and *for ourselves*. The writer deplores that the secondary education in India is modelled on English lines, and, as a consequence, little

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boys are taught things which are quite incomprehensible to them, the ultimate result being a kind of mental slavery. The Indian students of history and literature remain ignorant of Indian history and Indian literature ; Indian students of philosophy get themselves thoroughly acquainted with Kant, Hegel, Martineau and others, but do not know the teachings of Indian Philosophy and the Upanishads ; and Indian students of music 'do not know that Indian music is as highly organised in its own direction as western music in another, and is perhaps more beautiful.'

The above are all good sentiments, no doubt, but we are afraid that the real state of things is not so gloomy as depicted by the learned doctor. The first glamour of Western civilisation is (now rapidly vanishing away and people are gradually realising the comparative worth of the ideals of the East and of West. Educated men, at least in Bengal, have begun to realise that the education of an Indian must be useful from an Indian point of view and that books which are evidently primarily meant for the English public are unable to help the healthy growth of the Indian mind. Thus we have, in Bengal, the *Bangiya-Sahitya-Parishad*, a literary and scientific body, actively engaged for the last 13 or 14 years in studying the literature, language, political history, natural history, geography, etc., of Bengal. We have very lately seen in Bengal the foundation of the National Council of Education which aims at imparting education to the youths of Bengal from a national point of view, though its method of working is open to criticism. Even the University does not seem to have missed the spirit of the time, and it is not true, as Dr. Coomarswamy says, that the officialised Universities discourage the study of the vernaculars. In the Calcutta University a very prominent place has lately been given to the study of the Indian Vernaculars and the passionate peroration of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor at the last Convocation, where he, with his characteristic enthusiasm, exhorted the Indian graduates to a patient and thoughtful study of the Vernaculars and charged them with the responsible task of preaching the truth they get from the West to the people in general, through the medium of the vernaculars, still rings in the ears of many. Situated as we now are, it is not possible for us to neglect the study of the English language and English history, and the study of the English language carries with it certain disadvantages to which the learned doctor has drawn our attention. But it must also be admitted that the study of European history, philosophy, literature, etc., has also advantages of its own which can not justly be ignored, and we fail to see what harm there

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may be for acquiring a knowledge of some of the European classics, provided their study is not made compulsory. The real defect, however, comes in when preference is given to the study of foreign history, literature, philosophy, etc., to the study of Indian history, literature and philosophy. But let us hope that with the development of the *Swadeshi* principle, the future Indian will be *Swadeshi* in all phases of activity, in every department of life, and in all his thoughts and imaginations. That is the highest ideal of *Swadeshism* and let us all try to attain it.

THE SYRIANS IN MALABAR

Mr. A. J. John contributes a very learned account of the origin of the Syrians in Malabar to the June number of the reorganised *Malabar Quarterly Review*. It is said by some that in British Malabar, Travancore and Cochin the term *Syrians* is applied to the offsprings of two different sets of marriages. Briefly stated the story runs thus : Through the labours of St. Thomas, one of the well-known apostles of Christ, many Brahmins and others embraced Christianity. Thereupon Knai Thoma, a Syrian merchant of some standing in the country, having judiciously imported a number of men and women from his country, consisting partly of nobles and partly of slaves, coupled the former with the high caste converts and the latter with the others.

The Rev. Dr. Rae establishes on the one hand that the said apostle had neither set his foot on the soil of India nor preached the gospel to the people. Robertson, the famous author of the History of the Christian Church, asserts on the other that it was the Nestorian priests of Persia that brought along with them to India the name of the Apostle Thomas, thus giving rise to the tradition which has gained such wide-spread acceptance and has struck such deep roots in a land where history could neither put men out of conceit nor prove a barrier to the penetration of imaginary stores. The two historians are probably at one ; but no legitimate attempt worthy of consideration has yet been made to set aside these conclusions except the researches of Mr. A. Philipose.

The writer considers whether a mixed marriage did ever take place. He satisfies himself with the data afforded by the traditions that are extant and all facts bearing upon it which have been accepted or left unrefuted. Here also high probability must almost be equivalent to absolute certainty. The writer next discusses as many

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as twenty-one points in this connection, and considers it evident that a marriage such as is attributed to Thomas of Cana had not taken place and even if it had taken place it had nothing whatever to do with the origin of the name 'Syrian.'

In the next place is taken into consideration the question as to what caste or castes among the Hindus they have any likeness to, so far as their dress and costume are concerned. That it has not the slightest resemblance to that of the Brahmin is plain enough. It is equally plain that it resembles that of the low-castes. Their women's dress or the lower half of it is very closely allied to that of the potter-women and fisher-women. The fashion of the upper-half dress is certainly the result of contact with the European nations. So far as their ear-ornaments are concerned, the *Valika* is akin to that of the Shanar women and fisher-women in certain places. The ear-ring is plainly that of the fisher women. The language or rather the dialect they speak is that of the inferior castes and in the south, it has more of Tamil than in the north. It should not be forgotten that the great majority of them are given to drink more or less, most of them having sprung from the inferior castes. They are not remarkably clear in their habits and modes of life. In fact there is a strong contrast in this respect between them and the superior castes. Again they are greedy in the consumption of fish and meat and consider any feast sumptuous or otherwise only in proportion to the quantity of these. From these statements and conclusions it may be gathered from which section of the Hindu community the great majority, if not all, of these people must have sprung. Finally the writer thinks with Dr. Rae that the name 'Syrian' came to be applied to these as a religious distinction. Its import may be clearly seen by comparing it with the names given to the several sections of native Christians in the Southern Presidency and elsewhere.

POVERTY AND DISCONTENT

An anonymous article dealing with the present state of affairs in India appears in the July number of the *Quarterly Review*. At the beginning of the paper, the growing poverty of the Indian people is discussed and firmly denied. Referring to the annual 'economic drain,' which is thinning the very life-blood of the country, the writer says that more than half of this sum represents the interests paid upon such English capital as has been invested in our railways or has been loaned to the Indian State. The railways

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fully pay their way and their interest charges are met by those who use railway transport for their own profit. It is India's fault that her people do not find railway undertakings or Government stocks to be attractive investments. India should be thankful for this foreign capital, but for which her railways would, for the most part, have remained unconstructed. The assertion that famines indicate the impoverishment of the country is characterised by the writer as 'a reckless misrepresentation of facts.' The destitution caused by the failure of rainfall is, he says, due to the fact that the majority of those affected have no accumulated savings ; but such a condition is by no means peculiar to the working classes of India. Coming to statistical arguments with respect to the productions of the country, the writer says that 'here the Government is hoist with its own petard, for the statistics are its own compilation.' The figures upon which critics base their conclusions seem to the writer to be inaccurate. He does not think it possible to ascertain the actual produce of such a country as India. On the authority of Lord Curzon, the writer asserts that 'during the past twenty years there has been a small but decided increase.' Indeed the people of India are supposed by the writer to be growing richer since they are gradually raising their standard of comfort and there is a very marked rise in the rates of wages. Still the fact remains that the people are exceedingly poor, and this fact is explained away by the writer as owing to the pernicious caste system which impedes the accumulation of capital. To those economists who maintain, with Mr. R. C. Dutt, that poverty would be mitigated, were the land-revenue assessments permanently fixed throughout the country as in Bengal, the writer says that the Permanent Settlement has not increased the profits of landlords but their number. The contention that it has bred loyalty in Bengal needs no refutation in the present circumstances. The idea that it has averted famines is contradicted by facts. Direct taxation is as unpopular in India as in France. To increase at a stroke the expenses of thousands of persons is open to serious political objections. It is not improbable that revenue assessments will tend to become fixed, and that the State will be compelled to look to customs duties for an expansion of its income.

With regard to the question of Indian discontent, the writer observes that the difficulties of the Indian Empire must increase as the people grow in prosperity. They are said to have been peculiarly enhanced by the introduction of the British educational policy

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in India. Our studies are said to have been leavened by no religion, and by no morality based upon religion, and while undermining old beliefs they offer nothing in place of them. The large number of young Indians who go to England annually is to some extent responsible for the present unrest in India. Those members of the House of Commons who take some kindly interest in Indian affairs are not even spared by the writer. The cause of the recent ebullition of anti-British feeling is to be found in the effect of Japan's success against Russia. For immediate remedies, says the writer, "the situation requires nothing more than that the State should discharge its elementary duties of maintaining the public peace, securing the liberties of individuals, checking the display of legal sedition in the press and on the platform and, above all, protecting school boys against infection. The Punjab sedition has yielded to the firmness of the Government. In Bengal improvement can hardly be expected so long as Calcutta is allowed to remain a 'work-shop of intrigues.' The preventive or executive authority of the Government needs strengthening." No concession granted to the Indian people will, according to the writer, mollify their severity. In connection with the admission of our people to high Government offices, the writer argues that it will be a waste of public money to pay as big a salary to an Indian as will be required to be paid for the same post to a European, for, he says, 'the living expenses of the native of the country are much less than those of a European.' The writer then enters into a discussion, in his own way, of the reforms proposed by Mr. Morley and seems to be in favour of adding two Indian members to the Viceroy's Executive Council. The decision of including two Indians to the Secretary of State's Council is observed by the writer to be a 'statesmanlike recognition' of our claims. For the rest, 'British rule in India has some years before it, if it will do justice, keep its powder dry and stick to its friends.'

THE PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

Bombay

Bombay provided an appropriate meeting-place for the Standing Committee of the National Congress last month owing to her central position, wonted sobriety and freedom from excitement. While Bengal is exasperated by repression and Punjab is in dismay, great hopes were entertained that the leaders of the other presidencies would play a successful mediator and bring about a solution. But, the decision—or rather the indecision—of the Committee has justly caused painful disappointment. A strange informality had crept in. The official list of the members of the Committee was missing, and was not adequately supplied from non-official sources. Of those who were invited, scarcely a dozen did attend, Bengal and Punjab being entirely unrepresented. After a refreshing conversation during two successive afternoons, it was considered desirable to submit a memorial to the Viceroy now and send a deputation to England later.

Thus has the representative Committee of the Congress thrown away the splendid opportunity of “dealing” with the “situation.” Excepting a certain section of noisy demagogues in the Deccan, our Presidency has scarcely manifested any active resentment of the untold wrongs perpetrated upon our sister presidencies, while the little official manipulation in our municipal election called “the caucus” was strong enough to throw the city into wild consternation. We have yet to show that we are all members of the same body-politic and that repression in one part results in greater solidarity all over the country. We have also yet to show that we possess enough moral courage to deprecate the policy of suspicion and repression now abroad and that we shall not desist from agitation until the “great Lala” is released and ample amends are made in Bengal and Punjab. It is grave situations that put our powers of organisation to a test. We have shown that the recent deportations, prosecutions and ordinances have left us so far disorganised and dismayed that we dare not utter even a loud cry of protest.

The presence of several men of light and leading in the city was

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National Education availed of for organising an informal gathering to discuss how far the ideal of "national education" could be realised in this Presidency. The question is yet in such a nebulous and vague form that the meeting could not make up its mind to declare its assent to practical steps being taken for its advancement. Then "ideals" that surround the question have yet to be crystallised and tried in practice. With this object it was considered desirable that some members should establish an institution in which all the new ideas about education should be experimented upon for a while. One gentleman, a late Professor of a mofussil college, has already started an institution which has so far yielded satisfactory result. I think, that, we shall gradually become converts to the new system, when we fully perceive the actual results of the new educational policy of the Government. One distinction was quite apparent. While our Presidency will consent to accept it only so far as it means a radical change in our educational methods, so as to introduce more of the scientific and technical element in the curricula to make the vernacular the medium of higher education and to obtain more of popular control in the management, we will not consent to put the political aspect of the problem in the forefront as it is done in Bengal. The question has not yet passed beyond the stage of mere discussion in our presidency.

Lord Lamington's Secret of Success The resignation of the Governor Lord Lamington and the appointment of Sir W. Clarke as his successor is the principal event of the month. The long-continued illness of his gracious consort at last made it impossible for him to complete his term of office. His regime was not marked by any important legislative or administrative reforms. But, what made his departure so universally regretted was his amiable nature, genuine sympathy, and tolerance of popular aspirations. At a time when there was great ferment in the other provinces, he exhibited great self-control and exercised considerable discretion in holding the scales even. His successor has seen service in Australia and done considerable work on Committees behind the curtain. It is expected that he will lay his own impress on the administration. But if we are given a choice between energetic rulers of the Curzon and Ibbetson type, and those who rule with caution and circumspection without undertaking violent reforms, we shall at once prefer the statesmen of the class to which Lord Lamington belongs and exclaim with Carlyle "happy the nation whose annals are blank."

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BOMBAY)

The abnormal rise of prices and the increased cost of living has been the most anxious problem of our presidency for some time. The seasons have been propitious, the government have not declared famine, and yet, for the last three years, the prices of all the necessities of life, food-stuffs, oils, ghee, &c., have been nearly doubled. The poor are laid low and the rich have also begun to feel the pinch. What is the cause of this abnormal condition is a question that has so far baffled the wits of economists and statesmen. Various theories have been propounded to explain it. Is it due to increasing exportation to foreign countries? Is it due to the gradual limitation of cultivation of rice, wheat and other cereals in favour of cotton to feed the looms of Lancashire? Anglo-Indian papers suggest the paucity of rolling-stock as the main cause. Though they may thus try to lead us off the scent, it seems to me that the real explanation must be sought in the over-coinage of silver during the year. By an artificial currency, the rupee has been already depreciated, and large surpluses obtained: now, these depreciated coins have been turned out of the mint so much in excess of the demand that Mr. Morley declared the other day in Parliament that the profits from coinage alone came to about four millions in the year. I put this forward as the most feasible hypothesis toward the solution this problem.

What was known as the "caucus movement" in our municipal election has had, on the whole, a chastening effect on the Corporation, and out of evil, good has come. The leaders of the movement have gone to England to do penance for their sins. The late Governor expressed his personal dis-approval of the interference of government officials in municipal matters. The two parties have now begun to appreciate the strength of each other better and, on the whole, there is less of cliquism and more of mutual understanding than before. In this reconciliation, we are helped by the presence of the Acting Commissioner, whose sympathy is only equalled by his industry. A recent fire and failure of water to quench it disclosed grave disorder in the Water Department; and, he has begun his work of "cleaving the auger stable" by socking one of the heads of the department and degrading the other. Then, the Health Department has been reorganised, and the rules of debate will be soon remodelled so as to lend to greater facility of actual work.

We are not neglecting our efforts in the cause of social progress.

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Social Progress The want of a well-equipped Female High School for Hindus has been supplied by a splendid grant of three lacs from the estate of a deceased merchant. Widow-marriages are getting frequent and society is showing greater tolerance and active sympathy towards the movement. Ladies have begun to breathe the spirit of the times and among the ardent votaries of the swadeshi creed, there are to be found a large number of the better sex.

Bird's Eye

MADRAS

Most readers of the *Indian World* must have read in the newspapers of the *fracas* at Coconada between a small 'Unrest' in Madras crowd of Indians and the local white colony and of the tempest in the teapot raised at the Rajahmundry College by Mr. Mark Hunter. At Coconada the *fracas* was the result of a brutal assault by the District Medical Officer upon a young boy ; and the event had been repudiated by most of the leading citizens of the Godavery District in meeting assembled. Yet, the Government did not abstain from attaching political importance to this ordinary riot and labelling it down as an ebullition of the spirit of 'unrest' in the Southern Presidency. Sir Arthur Lawley, who seems to have the energy of Lord Curzon *minus* his ability, has adjudged the case sufficiently strong for the quartering of a punitive police on the town—thus visiting an exemplary punishment on the innocent many for the sins of a guilty few. Can a more glaring instance of vicarious punishment and political insanity be found anywhere else in the civilised world ? As for the Rajahmundry incident, it is difficult to apportion the blame equitably between the Principal and the students of the College. The students no doubt deliberately set at naught the instructions given to them by the Principal about their not joining a certain procession ; and not only did they transgress the Principal's wishes in the matter but they went out of their way in decorating their persons with *Bande Mataram* lockets. These offending students were turned out of the College by the Principal ; and the Government of Sir Edward Lawley, not hearing the case of the students, have now come forward with a Resolution rustivating more than 125 students of the College. The punishment looks vindictive as there were strong reasons for justice being tempered with mercy in this case.

Writing of the Rajahmundry College students and the misfor-

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tune by which they have been overwhelmed, we
The Madras Press and the Students are tempted to say a word or two on the spirit in
which the Madras Press—we are concerned only
with the Indian Section of it—has dealt with the question. As
might have been expected, the Government has been criticised
severely, perhaps too severely. But not a word of remonstrance
has been addressed to the students themselves. While it is un-
doubted that the Government has taken a too severe view of the
mistakes committed by the students, can it be denied that the
students first put themselves in the wrong by disregarding the
authority of the Principal? Have not all well-wishers of the
students—those who have a deep sense of the full import of their
being the trustees of posterity—those who are anxious that they
should be trained and brought up in such a manner as will make
them worthy successors of the present-day leaders of the national
movement—been loud in their complaints against the new manners
imbibed by the students? Is it not a fact that a good many of
them have lost all spirit of humility and reverence, and come to
confound liberty with license and independence with insolence? We
are often told that Indian students are embodiments of good
manners compared with students in the west: we have little
doubt that this is a fact and we congratulate ourselves that it
is so. But we shall be pardoned for saying that we have never
been impressed by the argument that because students in the West
are much worse behaved, therefore whatever pitfalls Indian students
may descend into they must be excused. Our surely is not merely
to congratulate ourselves on not having sounded the depths which
Westernness may have touched but to retain all the virtues we have
inherited and copy the good qualities of the West which we have
not. We must say it is a pity that the Madras Presidency is rather
exhibiting an unwholesome tendency to follow the not altogether
exhilarating example of the majority of the Bengal papers.

Recently a widow marriage was performed at Berhampore in the
Ganjam district, the parties being Telugu Brahmans,
A Widow Marriage a most conservative class of people. The marriage
was solemnised by the venerable Rao Bahadur
Vireshalingam Pantulu, justly styled by the late Mr. Ranade as the
Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar of Southern India. We are pleased at
the warm reception accorded to Mr. Vireshalingam by the citizens of
Berhampore for he had to undergo a deal of persecution in
the earlier years of his reform campaign. We would refer the
readers to the full text of the address presented to him, which

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was printed in a recent issue of the *Indian Messenger*, to know what a noble and heroic life he has lived, and to his reply to the same to realize the depth of genuineness and humility as well as rare courage which have always stood out in bold relief as the characteristics of Mr. Viresalingam. We make special mention of the Berhampore incident in these Notes as we very much fear that in the hurly-burly of political agitation the majority of educated Indians have not been attacking the many social evils which are paralysing progress in almost every field of national activity.

The term of the Honourable Nawab Saiyid Mahomed Saheb Bahadur will expire at the end of the year, and the Madras and the Supreme Council non-official members of the Madras Legislative Council will soon be called upon to name his successor. We understand that the choice of the members is likely to fall on Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu, of Rajahmundry and Madras. Mr. Subbarao Pantulu was for six years a member of the Madras Legislative Council, and by unanimous assent he proved himself a most efficient and satisfactory member. He was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the third Madras Congress over which the late Mr. A. M. Bose presided and president of the Fifteenth Provincial Conference held last June at Vizagapatam. Mr. Subbarao Pantulu is a capable and shrewd man who combines in himself the two essential requisites of tact and independence, and we can say that he will prove a worthy colleague of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. We are told that the Maharajah of Bobbili, who lately sought to make himself notorious by seeking the hospitality of Anglo-Indian columns to vilify educated Indians and defending the outrageous deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, is trying hard to get himself elected. But we are confident there is enough common-sense among the non-official members of the Madras Council to reject the aristocratic noodle of Bobbili and elect so qualified a man as Mr. Subbarao Pantulu.

A great surprise has been sprung upon the public by the resignation by Mr. S. Gopala Charrier of his office of the Dewan of Travancore. Mr. Gopala charier held the office of District and Sessions Judge before his elevation to the Dewanship, and had not had a day's experience of revenue and executive work. And we cannot say that he was quite a success as Dewan. But it is given out that the cause of his resignation was not his incompetence but his inability to pull on well with the British Resident. And the present

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Resident, Mr. C. C. Carr, I.C.S., has not earned a reputation for amiability, not to speak of statesmanship. So, Dewans can be made and unmade by these Politicals. So meagre is the independence possessed by the rulers of Native States that they have not even the right of appointing their own Dewans. It is a source of some satisfaction in the present instance that Mr. Gopalachariar is to be succeeded by Dewan Bahadur P. Raja Gopalachari, who is of the status of a District Officer but is on special duty as Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies. Mr. Rajagopalchari was for some years Dewan of Cochin. He is endowed with exceptional intellectual gifts and there is little doubt that he will make a worthy successor to Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, who resigned that office last year to succeed Sir P. N. Krishnamurti as Dewan of Mysore.

Dewan Madhava Rao merits our hearty congratulations on the establishment of a Legislative Council in the Mysore State. The Representative Assembly founded by the famous Dewan Rangacharlu has been in existence for over a quarter of a century and has been a great success. The credit for taking a step in advance in the direction of associating the people with the administration belongs to Mr. Madhava Rao. At present the Council is composed of official and non-official members nominated by the Government. There are no elected members, nor have the nominated non-official members the right of interpellation or the right of discussing the Budget. Another defect in the composition of the Council is that all the non-official members are retired officials of the State. Mr. Madhava Rao, as might be expected, spoke in defence of all these points, but the defence was unconvincing to a degree. We have pointed out what we consider to be some of the undoubted defects in the constitution of the Council, but we none the less congratulate Dewan Madhava Rao on what he has done and hope that he will not hesitate to place the Council on a popular basis within a few years.

One of the incidents of the prolonged proceedings in connection with the gigantic crash that has overwhelmed Southern India by the failure of Arbuthnot & Co., was the purchase some days ago, of the Arbuthnots Industrials, comprising the jute factory at Chittivalasa in the Vizagapatam district and a few other concerns, for Rs. 3,85,000 by two Mahomedan merchants belonging to Bangalore and Ootacamund. It is so far satisfactory that these businesses have not passed

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into the hands of Europeans, however much some persons tried to secure their possession for them, and for this no small credit is due to the Creditors' Committee at Madras. But it will be still more satisfactory if the business be converted into a limited liability company so that more Indians may create for themselves an interest in it. In these days of swadesi and boycott and industrial development, is it too much to expect that some Indians at least who have both brains and money will take a practical interest in such matters? If it is all to be mere sound and fury, how can we look forward to the building up of indigenous industries? Look how they in Bombay are promoting industries. Just now the Tata Iron Company has been floated and Rs. 1,25,00,000 out of the Rs. 1,50,00,000 of the required capital have already been subscribed. So also the Indian Specie Bank with a capital of Rs. 200,00,000, the Bank of India with a capital of Rs. 1,00,00,000, and the Bank of Western India with a capital of Rs. 25,00,000. As against these splendid efforts, what have you in Bengal and we in Madras have got to show in furtherance of the Swadesi movement? No doubt we have done something and you have done something more; but it must strike an impartial observer that both Bengal and Madras, not to speak of the others provinces, have to hide their diminished heads in shame by the side of the magnificent progress Bombay has made and is making.

Madraasi

BENGAL

Speaking for Bengal at any rate one would suppose that the unrest lies entirely on the wrong side, to wit on the side of the Government and the anti-agitators; and one would not be a whit wrong in the supposition. Not to speak of the Rajshye, Jamalpur and the Comilla riots, which oddly enough have been shifted to the heads of the Hindus, in England and even in Bombay, the long list of unrest incidents that have occurred all show plenty of hysterics on the part of the Government, and no special bid on the part of the people for breaking human heads and disturbing the king's peace.

During the last month the Government has prosecuted five men for sedition. The Editor of the *Jugantar* has been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment but has not chosen to appeal to the High Court which he had a right to. The courage of convictions shown by Mr. Bhupendranath Dutt in

The "Unrest"
in Bengal

Political Trials

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going cheerfully to jail for what he conceived to be the best interest of his country is a striking feature of Bengalee public life, an example of such a nature is not only worth more than all the rhodomontade and vapourings of the platform but also makes for national manhood, though one regrets the eccentric views entertained by the youthful Bengalee journalist. In the case of the Khulna pleader, not only was the charge for sedition unsustainable, but the prosecution had entirely collapsed. The Magistrate however bonud down the accused to be of good behavior for one year, though, as a matter of fact, no *bad behavior* was made out against him nor any prospects of a frightful breach of the peace even hinted at. Yet, such as it was, even this order has been set aside by the High Court which has found that absolutely nothing inflammatory was to be found in the speech complained of. This shows the way that commodities hawked about as rabid sedition rapidly dwindle down to mere strong language or nothing at all just as the child in Alice's Wonderland turned into a pig. The other cases of sedition are *sub judice* and we must wait and see what strange developments are in store for them.

Against these what have our 'enemies' got to show about 'unrest' on the people's side? A single head broken or a shot fired, a shadow of a riot imminent, no matter for what purpose, would in the present mood of these people answer admirably, but unhappily none has taken place, no not even on the seventh of August—except for a boy from the *Jugantar* office who was handled severely by the police and who also dealt some telling blows on his assailant—but that has nothing to do with the people at large. One cannot but feel sorry for scare-mongers, to have such a hard lot, to have nothing in the nature of a fact to go upon. The British Government sits tight on the Indian soil and is not likely to feel insecure of its position for at least another half a century. The life of the Britisher is as safe as ever, so much so that not a single violent hand was raised even against a certain press representative who had made a tour in East Bengal evidently with no other object than to manufacture any number of lies and furbish them up with equivocations and significant omissions. These lies have proved catching and have created a scare, not in Bengal, for here Englishmen know us quite well, but in England, much to the harm of the agitator. Still, when this scare-monger went again to E-B all the mischief he came about was a peculiar kind of looking since christened as 'the Barisal stare.'

Meanwhile the metamorphoses of children into pigs have been

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The Bloomfield Case going on. The Crabbe case, which was made much of by scare-mongers has turned to be only an outrage by a daring brigand, while the Bloomfield case turns out to be only a new version of the old story of the stag at bay. Mr. Bloomfield, who was the manager and partner of an indigo factory in Motihari, had sorely tried the patience of some of his tenants by litigations. When this planter went to take possession of their lands, some of these people, who, as usual in that part of the country, had lathies in hand, gave him what they thought a sound thrashing. But as a matter of fact they had managed to give him such a thrashing that the old man did not survive it. Now there is no doubt that these people richly deserved their seven years hard labour for such a cruelty, but at the same time every one with half an eye will see that it was not at all the work of agitators and wire-pullers at Calcutta.

Anglo-Indian Comments The case has caused some odd comments, the substance of which is that the life of a Britisher is such a valuable commodity that it must be saved at all costs, no matter how many men you have to hang for it. Even law must yield to the supreme political expediency of hanging anybody who may have anything to do with taking the life of a Britisher. Justice Mitter has been taken severely to task and Justice Fletcher is accused of moral weakness in supporting him. But then these worthy exponents of Anglo-Indian Jurisprudence forget that the law being what it is, by several Anglo-Indian scribes for overlooking some 'essentials' of the case the Judges could not act otherwise than they did. It's the law then that requires the mending, and I should suggest these men to memorialise the Government to frame some exceptional rules of evidence in these trials between Europeans and Indians. At any rate a draft of such rules, if made, would be delectable reading.

Comilla Case Seldom does it fall to the lot of a High Court Judge to dispose of two such sensational cases as the Bloomfield murder case and the Comilla shooting case within such a small interval. The way that JJ. Mitter and Fletcher have disposed of the two cases has shown their ability as criminal Judges as well as laid a firm hold of the people's affections and confidence. In the Comilla cases the learned Judges have held that the findings of the Judge being what they are the convictions could not stand in law. This point is worked out with a legal acumen and fairness that might stand out as a model to most criminal Judges of the land. Then the learned Judges point out that even the find-

ings of the Sessions Judge are not borne out by the evidence. The evidence such as it is, is unreliable, and at places contradictory while the best evidence has been withheld. The learned Judge again has erred grievously in estimating the weight of evidence and making presumptions against the accused. On these points there are some remarks which criminal Judges and Magistrates of the country would do well to lay to heart. The country is happy in having Mr. Justice Mitter to preside over the Criminal Bench of the High Court, and his level-headed judgment has gone a greater way in restoring the people's battered faith in courts and discrediting sedition than all prosecutions and repressions.

It is also with the greatest pleasure that I note that, though there has been some discontented souls among Anglo-Indians who have fallen foul of Justice Mitter for his judgment on the Bloomfield case, there are others amongst them who own to a ready appreciation of justice. The scurrilous letter-writers have already found some ready retorts from other correspondents who entirely uphold Mr. Justice Mitter's judgment. And, about the Comilla case, while the *Englishman* holds its oracular silence, there is a remarkable consensus of opinion amongst Anglo-Indian journalists that it was the Government that erred and the Sessions Judge that fumbled while the High Court has set matters right. Coming to the lessons of the trial, the remarks of the *I. D. News* are so pertinent that I am tempted to make a present of them to the readers of the *Indian World* :

"The lesson of the case, of course, is that if you choose to govern through the police you are liable to be put in a hole. Even if you have no friend, even if you have acted so as to put up the whole country against you and alienated every human being, do not imagine that things will go straight by throwing yourself into the arms of the police. It may be that repression will keep you going for an interval, but retribution comes in the morning when you open your daily paper, and find that the political case on which you staked your reputation on the advice of the police has been held by a just and impartial tribunal to have been a fake. No one accuses the Government of deliberately concocting a false case, but they must take some of the responsibility of it. A very small amount of investigation by an impartial adviser must have shown them the falsity of the whole thing, but they have no such impartial adviser, and if they had, the position is so strained that they probably would not have listened to him; for such has been the way of late on this side of India."

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The Nawab's Manifesto Nawab Salimullah has issued a manifesto to discredit the rumour that he has been sending Mollahs to encourage Mussulmans to lawlessness. During the investigations about the affairs of Jamalpur and Rajshahye it was abundantly proved that Mollahs and Moulvies representing themselves as emissaries of the Nawab of Dacca had stirred up people to lawlessness. To Mussulmans of East Bengal, therefore, the Nawab has addressed this manifesto declaring that he has nothing to do with these Mollahs and with inviting people to outrages. He asks them not to listen to these people and exhorts them to be law-abiding. I am happy that the manifesto has been issued. It would seem that, among the people themselves, the manifesto has not been as largely circulated as in the officialdom and in the Anglo-Indian Press. But that must have been due to a greater zeal for the favours of officials than for the peace of the land. I hope the manifesto has been largely circulated by now. My only regret is that the Nawab did not wake up to the situation a little earlier, when the papers were full of reports of Mollahs professing to be his emissaries going about stirring strife amongst Mussulmans. A prompter step would have cleared his name from blemish and saved the whole situation.

Loyalty Manifesto Last comes the 'Loyalty Manifesto,' in which the 'noblemen and gentlemen' of Bengal sign a protest against sedition and violence, as if the whole country was seething with them and it wanted only the magic touch of their sage counsel to be laid to rest. Now all that I need say of it is that the Zemindars have my sincerest commiseration as they *have* to do all these untidy jobs at the beck and call of some busybodies. For the rest, the manifesto only proves, what never required any proof, that the Zemindars never represented the people and that the talk of their being the *natural* leaders of the people is unmitigated nonsense. For one thing we absolutely refuse to believe that there is any lawlessness or any such serious unrest in the country as to disturb the equanimity of these titled folks who are wont to have such sweet sleep over public affairs at other times. But if there is any unrest, it is folly to think that it can be soothed by any such manifestoes, especially when they come from a source which has been systematically discredited by the people as the bought up mouth-piece of Government. There was thus absolutely no need for the manifesto and the signatories have only succeeded in making fools of themselves.

When Sir Bampfylde Fuller went about from town to town in

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Addresses to Sir
L. Hare

Eastern Bengal begging love of his subjects, some time at the point of the bayonet, the people somehow would not give any addresses to him and many a tale is told of the ways of his subs to get up something like one. Sir Lancelot however seems to be more lucky, as he is getting a bumper crop of it everywhere. One wonders if it is all for the regulation and non-regulation lathies to which E. B. has been treated of late. But there is one thing that makes all the difference. Sir Bampfylde was if any thing chivalrous and he would have no half-hearted words of welcome. He had ordered that no addresses should be presented to him unless the body which gave it were unanimous. Sir Lancelot is wiser, if less upright, and he takes with excellent appetite an address which has been voted for by the magnificent majority of two, four, or any number not excluding officials and official nominees. Still somehow these addresses do not strike one as particularly consistent and it jars frightfully with one's sense of the expected. Your doubt is certainly not abated to see Mymensingh going one better than all the rest by presenting an address on behalf of the Zemindars in addition to the customary District Board and Municipal addresses. The Zemindars have a hard thing or two to say of Sir Lancelot's rule and if they are awfully anxious to give him a welcome one can only rub one's eyes and look for more surprises.

The Seventh of August—the anniversary of the Bengal boycott—passed off with a marvellous quietness—this is the
7th August burden of the comments of the Anglo-Indian Press upon the event. But while all was quiet and regular, the amount of enthusiasm which the event called forth was remarkable. For this combination, as the *Empire* tells us, Bengal, and for the matter of that India, might give a lesson to Europe. While the event was managed quite admirably in many ways, some comments on the way the meeting at Calcutta was managed are badly called for. Leaving apart the dirty rag which a set of yonngsters had got hoisted as the National flag, we wonder if a long speech was the *sine qua non* of the demonstration. As it was, it was absurd for anybody who had not a hundred trumpets in his throat to hope to make himself heard by that seething mass of human heads. But the President, Babu Ambica Charan Majumdar, *would* read out the whole of a long-written harangue. The atmosphere was any thing but encouraging and before the President had gone through half of his portentous address the audience was treated to none very refreshing showers.

We do not congratulate our neighbours in the French territory

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Affairs

in their having the benefit of a replica of the Indian Arms Act. They have done exceedingly well without it before this and they might be trusted to do as famously without it in future. The consummation was due to certain disturbances which though they donot do credit to the French people were nothing out of the natu^ral. This comes perhaps of the declaration of the French Government to heartily co-operate with the British in its repressive measures. If that is the way they are going to co-operate, I don't know where they are going to stop. I donot know if the French laws now permit of *letters de cachet*, but if they don't and if the spirit of co-operation and the happy *entente cordiale* is to go on I should suggest the immediate enactment of some law permitting them. Besides this a good many other things will have to be done too, and the trouble may best be saved by placing French India under the Government of a joint board of Anglo-Indian and Franco-Indian notables. Lord Curzon, Sir B. Fuller, Sir L. Hare and hosts of other names occur to me as possible members of the Board.

Clive Memorial The Clive memorial scheme broached by Lord Curzon would seem to be a project excessively fond of darkness. Since its birth it so far retired into darkness that people began to think it were still-born. But now comes to the Indian public the information that it is in the run and that the king has made a handsome donation. All very well. Yet when all is said and done, it really seems a problem whether Clive or Omichand won the empire for the British. Omichand's forbearance in disclosing the plan was the cause of the success of the British. The whole discussion on this problem is likely to turn on the metaphysical problem of causality and of the relation of proximity to causality. Meanwhile a perfect solution would be made by making the funds raised provide for a statue of Clive and Omichand arm in arm. If there is a life beyond death and if normals rule that life, they would no doubt be found in that sort of intimate companionship down there.

Police vs. Press The High Court has been the rink where some of the most sensational games of the month have been played,—not the least sensational of them being the famous Police vs. Press case. The case arose out of several damaging comments made by some papers on the conduct of the police in the Sovabazar murder case. The *Indian Daily News* was first placed on trial and it has been mulcted in damages to the extent of Rs 3000. A tremendous uproar was made by the better part

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of the Anglo-Indian Press at the upshot of the trial, remarkably at the disclosure that the Government of Bengal was financing the Police Officers. A fund was started in aid of the I. D. N. and an indignation meeting was in the air. But somehow the whole thing collapsed, and the *Statesman*, the prime mover in the project, quietly gave it up. The fund was closed, the meeting abandoned, even the *Daily News* somehow got over its indignation and stopped its Black List of the failure of the Police. The curious ground for all this is that it was not well to embarrass the Government in these troublesome times. On the other hand the Government has ceased to proceed against the *Statesman* and other papers. It looks as if there has been some understanding between the parties, though both parties would seem to agree to deny it. Anyhow the collapse of the whole movement is undoubtedly most mysterious.

Our province has been showing some signs of educational activity. The University of Calcutta has appointed Educational Dr. Thibaut ^a Reader and several eminent Professors as Lecturers in different subjects. This is all very well, but the functions of these Lecturers and Readers do seem to be wrapt up in a haze. We have only to wait and see the system of work before we can offer any comments. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, has also published a huge report of a special committee on Primary Education with his comments thereon. The scheme is much too big for discussion within my limits, but its one agreeable feature is that it fully recognises the mischief that's being done by a most diversified and onerous course of studies in the lower forms and seeks to mend it. There are other good features but the whole thing would seem to depend upon how they are brought into practice. There is nothing to do till then but to wait and watch.

Geschichtmacher

THE UNITED PROVINCES

The most important event of the month in the United Provinces is the Conference on Technical Education which has The Technical Education Conference sat at Nainital on the 19th instant and succeeding days under the presidency of the Honourable Sir John Hewett, the able Lieutenant-Governor of the province. Sir John Hewett, as well becomes the man who was the first Member for Commerce and Industry of the Government of India, takes a very special interest in the subject of industrial development and technical education. And it must be said to

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his credit that he has not allowed the grass to grow under his feet ever since his assumption of the office of the Lieutenant-Governor. He has placed Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I.C.S., on special duty for conducting an industrial survey of the province. He has placed another able officer, Mr. S. H. Butler, I.C.S., on special duty since the 1st June, to collect all necessary materials on the subject of technical education, for being placed before the Conference we are writing of. At a meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council held on the 23rd March last the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya put a series of questions on the condition of technical education in the provinces and the intentions of Government, based mainly on the recommendations of the Committee on Industrial Education appointed by Lord Curzon, and in the replies to those questions and in the speech of the Lieutenant-Governor at the succeeding meeting of the Council, it came out clearly that Sir John Hewett did not regard those recommendations as of a practical character and that he was of opinion that further investigation was necessary before money could be profitably spent on the furtherance of technical education and industrial development. We need not quarrel with this attitude as Sir John Hewett has taken prompt steps to conduct such further investigation. The Conference at Nainital was composed of very competent experts as well as representatives of the Indian public, and we are confident we are not too sanguine in thinking that it will lead to the adoption of measures which will decisively advance the cause all well-wishers of India equally have at heart. The chief ground of our hope lies in the fact that Sir John Hewett is an earnest believer in the Swadeshi principle. He feels a genuine enthusiasm for the movement and the knowledge acquired by him as some time head of the Commerce and Industry Department will, we hope, be utilised to splendid purpose.

The United Provinces have lost their Grand Old Man. The late Pandit Bishambar Nath passed away on the 29th August full of years and honours at the advanced age of 75. A great Persian scholar, a real lover of learning, a man of unblemished character and faultless habits, Pandit Bishambar Nath was eminently successful in his own profession as well as the public life of the country. He was a Congressman from the first, and combined in himself courtesy and tact with independence and ability with knowledge of facts. He was Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee at Allahabad in 1892, a member for a long time of the local and the Imperial Legislative Councils and had the offer of the presidency of the

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Congress which met at Lahore in 1900 and which he had to decline on the score of ill-health and old age. Pandit Bishambar Nath will long be remembered by his appreciative and grateful countrymen alike for his private virtues and public services.

It is strange that till now no Congressman belonging to the United Provinces and the Congress Presidency has had the distinction of presidentship conferred upon him. The late lamented Pandit Ajudhia Nath would certainly have been elected a president of the Congress had he lived a couple of years longer and, as we have stated in the foregoing paragraph, the late Pandit Bishambar Nath declined the offer of presidentship seven years ago. There is happily one more Congressman still amongst us whose claims to that honourable position are about as great as those of the two departed worthies whose names we have mentioned. We allude of course to our most esteemed friend, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohon Malaviya. He has been present at no less than twenty Congresses and has always taken a leading part in the proceedings of the National Assembly. He has a true political instinct which leads him to correct conclusions and an aptitude for politics which is by no means common even among prominent Congressmen. That the Congress owes much to him any one who has any personal knowledge of public life in the United Provinces will be able to testify. It is the opinion in more than one province that, in the circumstances under which the Congress will meet this particular year, a better selection cannot be made for the office of its president.

If a careful student of public questions, as affecting the United Provinces, were asked to state the most important question of the day, the reply would undoubtedly be the provincial financial settlement between the Imperial and the Provincial Government. The largest revenue is raised in these Provinces, the largest portion of provincial revenues for purposes of Imperial expenditure is contributed from these provinces, and the Provincial Government which is allowed to retain the smallest portion of the revenues for provincial expenditure is that of these provinces. When it is further stated what is a proved fact that of all the provinces of British India the most backward in several essential matters touching the daily weal and woe of the people are again the United Provinces, the case for a revision of the present terms of the settlement so as to secure a larger portion of the revenues for purposes of expenditure on local needs and requirements is complete. The position was excellently summed up in the following Resolution passed at the First

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United Provinces Conference which was held at Allahabad in the last Easter holidays and which runs as follows :

"Resolved—That this Conference is strongly of opinion that the share of the revenues of these Provinces which is allotted to the Provincial Government is utterly inadequate for their needs : Education in all its branches, Sanitation of both urban and rural areas, Medical relief, the needs of Municipal and District Boards and many other branches of domestic administration all urgently call for much larger expenditure. This Conference, therefore, most earnestly appeals to the Government of India to substantially increase the provincial share of the revenues contributed by these Provinces as an act alike of financial justice and of pressing necessity."

Every word in the above can be, and in point of fact has been, substantiated. The provincial Government itself has time and again complained of the inadequacy of the revenues assigned to it, and we are glad to say it has succeeded in inducing the Government of India to consider the necessity of a revision of the settlement. The Lieutenant-Governor and the Hon'ble Mr. Baker, the Finance Member, will confer next month—September, to arrive at a decision which will be fair to both the Governments and it is to be hoped that the revised settlement will leave enough funds in the hands of the provincial Government for expenditure on education, sanitation, medical relief and other pressing needs of the people.

Of all the measures for the prevention or the mitigation of the evils arising from the plague we hear discussed in Government Resolutions or public prints, the most urgent are those which have for their object the gradual removal of the evils of over-crowding. That the living of too many persons in ill-ventilated and ill-constructed houses in insanitary areas is one of the principal causes of the spread of plague is we believe an accepted proposition. Evacuation is recommended as the most effective means now known to the people for escaping from the ravages of this fell disease, but how long and how many people can afford the luxury of emigration or removal ? The only permanent remedy for the evils of overcrowding is the opening up of congested areas and the re-building and extension of cities. In the West, the problem of housing the poor is recognised as one of the most important social problems, but though the evil is, if anything, more pressing in India, nothing like adequate attention is being paid to it. Considering the dreadful ravages of the plague this is certainly most deplorable and, we

Plague and the
Evil of Over
Crowding "

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will add, discreditable. We are glad to see the beginnings of an effort in this direction on the part of the United Provinces Government who have offered in the larger municipal towns *Nazul* land free of rent for building purposes. But the Municipal Committees themselves are not so well situated financially as to be able to render any substantial help to the people. They cannot themselves undertake building operations. What is wanted is substantial financial help by the Government. When fifteen crores of rupees can be found by the Government of India year after year for railway extension, cannot the Government make an allotment of a crore of rupees for each province for judicious expenditure on the housing of the poor? We are sorry neither the Government nor the public have paid due attention to this most important matter. Is it too much to expect our public bodies to interest themselves in the subject with a view to the submission of informed representations to the Government as well as the framing of suitable schemes for the improvement of cities and towns in the different provinces which can be carried out in the near future at a cost which will not be beyond the means of the municipalities, aided necessarily by grants from the Imperial and the Provincial Governments?

The Ajodhya Raj is one of the most important estates in the United Provinces. The late Maharajah died last year leaving the estate involved to an extent that portions of it are likely to be sold for paying off a portion of the debt. But the public sentiment does not approve of such breaking up of this ancient estate, and the Government is looked up to advance a loan to the estate, which is now under European management, at a moderate rate of interest, with a view to save it from the auctioneer's hammer. When the Government of India has done it in the case of the Nawab of Dacca, whose services to the Empire cannot certainly be compared to the services of successive Maharajahs of Ajodhya, surely it is not an extravagant demand on the part of the public to ask for a similar consideration for the Ajodhya family. The Lucknow *Advocate* has a temperate and well-informed article on the subject in a recent issue, and in the course of the article it is hinted that the public will draw its own conclusions as to the motive underlying the Dacca loan if the request made on behalf of the Ajodhya Raj is not complied with.

Upson

THE PUNJAB

The sentences passed by the Special Magistrate in the Lahore Riot and the 'India' Sedition Cases are still ringing in the ears of the people of the Panjab. They at any rate have by this time got an idea of what political repression means, and few are now so foolish in the Province as to believe that the law can help an innocent man whom the authorities are determined to run in as a political undesirable. There are terrors in the law greater even than the operation of Regulation III of 1818. Police Raj is triumphant in the Province, and Public Prosecutors are having a merry time of it, while detectives and spies are flourishing in such abundance that the whole people are coming by and by to discover the merits of the Vow of Silence. Law may have some other meaning yet in the other provinces, but in the Panjab it has come to mean complete maceration under the heels of the Executive of the man who has, however unwillingly or harmlessly, happened to wound its prestige. And there is no High Court Bench here like the one adorned by the Hon'ble Justice Sarada Charan in Calcutta to put hope and faith in the people, to reassure them that all is not over with them so long as the British even keep up their professions of Justice, to tell the Police some plain truths, to curb the overflowing zeal of ambitious Public Prosecutors, and to furnish a healthy corrective to the laboured pronouncements of chosen Special Magistrates. Some are disposed to entertain the hope that the Criminal Bench of the Chief Court consisting of Sir William Clarke (Chief Judge) and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Protul Chander Chatterji, before whom the appeals of some of the prisoners will come up, may to a certain extent mitigate the horror of the present situation by declining to be a party to the use (or abuse) of the law as a means of Police and Executive vengeance. But in the present state of the atmosphere in the Panjab the hope finds but little nourishment to feed upon.

In the riot case, the material for which was furnished by the petty disturbance of the 16th April which half-a-dozen constables were sufficient to disperse, the alleged assault on Assistant Police Superintendent Mr. Phillips was committed by 5 men on his own deposition, but warrants were issued for the arrest of 12 of whom two have absconded. Out of the ten remaining 2 have been discharged for want of evidence, and 8 have been punished—six of them with 18 months' rigorous imprisonment each. In other words,

Monstrosities of
Punishment.

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for an offence committed by 5 persons according to the prosecution story itself, 8 men have been made to pay the penalty of the law, exclusive of the two who have absconded. The plain inference is that some innocent men have been punished, and the general belief in Lahore, supported in some cases by the direct knowledge of friends and acquaintances, is that the arrests, which were made more than five weeks after the occurrence, included a number of innocent men who were not even present in the disturbance. But the dignity of the Police had to be vindicated, and some persons had to be made victims, although there was no proof even that the assaulters formed part of an unlawful assembly, and it is well known that the Police were the first aggressors in dealing out blows.

The sentence of 5 years' hard labour on Dina Nath, the mild and inoffensive Editor of the *Hindusthan*, for the alleged printing of *India* in his brother's press, where his own paper used to be printed, will stand for a long time to come as one of the monstrosities of legal administration. The punishment is so absurd that one finds it difficult even to state in clear terms, not to speak of legal language, for what offence it has been dealt out. After this it were mere presumption to question the propriety of the sentence on Pindi Das, whose offence was not more serious, if indeed it was not more childish, than that for which the Editor of the *Yugantar* has been given only one year, after having been allowed bail and without being subjected to the ignominy of handcuffs during trial. Well might the Rawalpindi prisoners tremble for their fate after this, if they are not men who have become resigned to their fate and prepared themselves (during more than 3½ months in the lock-up) to accept the inevitable.

From this painful subject it is some relief to turn to the announcement of the Government's new plague policy, which may be regarded as having been specially called forth by the circumstances of the Punjab, the Province which has suffered the most from the disease in the present year, and where after the recent terrible measures of repression a policy of professed sympathy at least was necessary to sweeten the bitter pill. Indeed, considering that the plague season has been just passed through, and the next one is yet long in coming, the launching of the new policy at the present moment with the benediction of the King-Emperor and the ardent prayers of the Viceroy, may be taken as an indication of the Government's anxiety to give some proofs of its good intentions towards the people which have come to be very much doubted of late. For

A New Policy of
Professed Sympathy

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this reason, as well as because of the evidence contained in the papers published of a desire to grapple with the plague problem in an earnest spirit, the new policy is to be welcomed. It is a policy whose success is made dependent upon the willing co-operation of the people and recognition of their tastes, habits, and even prejudices. In the letter from the King-Emperor to the Viceroy testimony is borne to the misery that has been borne with such "silent patience in all those stricken homes," while His Excellency in his personal letter to the Provincial Governors admits with regret that "comparatively little success" has attended all the efforts hitherto put forth by the Government "to free the country from this dire scourge." It is then resolved that many of the "expensive and harassing operations" carried on in the past should be abandoned, and in their stead such measures are to be adopted as can be carried out with the entire sympathy and co-operation of the people. The destruction of rats and inoculation are recommended as preventive measures, but it is recognised that these methods will not find favour with the bulk of the people. Evacuation being the immediate remedy on the outbreak of the epidemic in any area, District Officers are directed to give every facility to those who wish to leave infected areas in the way of money and materials for constructing temporary quarters. But the most hopeful feature of the scheme, as evincing a desire to go to the roots of the trouble, is the proposal to provide model dwelling for the poorer classes, so as to reduce the facilities for rat-life and at the same time to afford a means of education to the people in sanitary principles as applicable to dwelling houses and their surroundings. Those who have lived in the Punjab and have seen the ravages committed by the plague, year after year, can understand that the Government has made a beginning in the solution of the problem in suggesting the construction of model buildings in new areas and the opening up of old congested ones. Indeed, only the rebuilding of towns and villages and the radical improvement of their sanitary conditions, side by side with the education of the people in hygienic laws, can adequately cope with the evil. This means no doubt a large outlay, but the people could help themselves a good deal if the Government met them half way, and in any case it is the primary duty of a Government which wishes to identify itself with the interests and welfare of the people, instead of remaining a mere machinery of tax-gatherers and an instrument of exploitation of the country by foreigners.

PROGRESS OF INDIA (THE PUNJAB)

The well-poisoning scare is so intimately connected with the plague problem in the Punjab that the consideration of the two comes hand in hand. Ignorant and prejudiced officials have made the question a political one, assuming the scare to be the creation of mischievous grievance-mongers and have, after the fashion of bureaucrats, attempted to suppress the evil by the help of their only scripture, the Indian Penal Code. As a matter of fact the scare represents a popular belief, begotten no doubt of a sense of grievance, though it is not unlikely that mischievous men have now and then taken advantage of it to create fictitious alarm. The general, if not universal, belief among the masses of the Punjab that the Government employs agents to poison wells and thus create and spread plague, has its origin (1) in the apathy of the officials in the face of the awful mortality which has taken place in the last few years, and (2) in the selection by the authorities of wrong and harassing methods. The suspicion against inoculation has been increased by such mishaps as the Mulkomal disaster, and no wonder if some ignorant people formed the belief that the Government, whose early measures of quarantine and segregation were of the hardest, had devised a new plan of decimating the population under the plea of giving them protection. But the entire absence of sympathetic measures has fed the belief the most. When men, women, and children were seen dying by the thousands without the Government so much as raising a finger, they could not but look with suspicion upon the operations of Municipal Committees to clean wells by disinfecting powders which had absolutely no effect on the progress of the disease but which gave to the water at first a strange colour. In fact, the Government's apathy in taking any other measures, —even the conservancy being often woefully neglected—was naturally contrasted with this well-disinfecting activity, and the story got abroad that it was the disinfecting material, presumably a poison, which caused and spread the plague. The origin of the scare thus lies in the people's loss of faith in the Government's good intentions—having received nothing but repressive measures from it even in connection with the plague—coupled with its half-hearted and dubious measures such as inoculation and disinfection. The belief is widely prevalent and is shared even by men who are fairly literate and intelligent, and there is no other means of removing it except the vigorous and earnest pursuit of measures of sympathy and co-operation with the people such as are outlined in the new policy.

Amicus

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Modern Review

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who has been much in evidence recently in the Indian magazines, opens not only the August number of *The Modern Review* but also a series of articles on *The Present State of Indian Art* with a short paper on Indian painting and sculpture. In the present article he lays down a number of *obiter dicta* on these subjects. Of Ravi Varma he says : "Theatrical conceptions, want of imagination and lack of Indian feeling in the treatment of sacred and epic Indian subjects are Ravi Varma's fatal faults." Of Mr. G. K. Mhatres' works he says, they "smack more of Paris than the East." "The finest collection of historical portraits," we are told, "is to be found in the Lahore Museum." Dr. Coomaraswamy makes only a passing mention of the paintings at Ajanta and does not refer to the sculptures at Ellora at all. The next article in the Review under notice, *The Efficiency of the Native Indian Army*, is a string of extracts taken from a Parliamentary Paper 48 years old. The second instalment of Rai Sarat Chander Das' narrative of his *Early Life* takes the next eight pages of this number. A Parsee gentleman discants on *The Ethics of Carlyle* so late in the day, and Babu Hariprasad Mozumdar puts in some more notes on *Rajagriha and Its Antiquities*. Mr. Benoyendranath Sen's paper read at the opening of the Calcutta Theological School is reprinted under the heading of *The Aims of the Brahma Vidyalaya* and Miss Parukutty just opens in this issue the third part of *Savitri*. In her second article on *Some Problems for Indian Research*, Sister Nivedita concerns herself with some incidents of the Mahabharata and with the waning influence of Surya (the Sun-God) in the mythology of the Hindus. In the next paper, *The Export of Raw Materials*, we are treated to some extracts from Lord Dufferin, Mr. Pearson and, as usual with the *Modern Review*, from the author of "European Morals." In this article, the Editor approves the establishment in Calcutta of a Grain-Preservation Society, little knowing that this is just the sort of thing that impedes the prosperity of a people and checks the growth of industrial life. The next twelve pages are taken up by Professor Jadunath Sarkar in recounting some forgotten incidents in the *Life of Shivaji*. Mr. R. Nathan puts in an excellent sugges-

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

tion in his article on *Gods as Capitalists* about utilising for industrial purposes the 'cash or jewellery' that are to be found accumulated in the temples of India. Of the remaining articles, *Bijapur* is a descriptive account of the historic city of that name; *The Manners of New India* contains some extracts; *Municipal Institutions in Ancient India* is a summary of a paper contributed by Pandit Rajendrachandra Sastri some time ago to *The Buddhist Text Society's Journal*. Swadeshi's appeal to *Save Your Women* has been noticed in a different section of *The Indian World*. The rest of the Review is made up of some notes and short notices of books.

The Hindustan Review

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha may be congratulated on the brilliant number he has brought out for July. Indeed it is replete with articles of special interest to India. The place of honour is assigned to an able and appreciative review of Mr. A. Yusuf Ali's work entitled *Life and Labour in India*, contributed by Mr. Theodore Morison, Member of the India Council, who says that the book 'deals with some of the most burning questions of the day in India.' According to Mr. Morison, Mr. Yusuf Ali 'writes with a distinction which is rare even in the scholarly service to which he belongs.' The Editor of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* has a short paper on *Dharma* in the course of which the sympathetic writer suggests that 'as the Indian should strive to learn his *Dharma* in relation to his country,' so should the Anglo-Indians strive to learn theirs' to India, that they may render good account of their stay in this country, cultivate a spirit of sympathy and friendliness for the people and 'uplift them, make them better and nobler citizens of the world, in the truest sense.' 'A European Onlooker' enumerates some *Obstacles in the Way of Indian Progress*, a summary of which will be found elsewhere in these pages. Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy's views on *National Education in India* are also summarised for the edification of our readers. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari contributes an able paper on *The Advisory Council of Notables* in the course of which he calls upon educated Indians not to accept the proposed council. Mr. Iswar Saran's article dwelling upon *The Present Political Situation in India* is a moderate survey of some of our current political questions. In the next paper on *The Origin of the Moslem Renaissance in India*, Mr. S. Barkat Ali pays a very high tribute to the educational work of the late Sir Sayed Ahmed. Mr. S. Z. Ali follows with his

THE INDIAN WORLD

beautiful account of *The Monsoon and the Revivification of Nature in India* in the course of which the writer presents some of the most charming aspects of Nature in this country. 'A Privy Council Barrister' writes ably on Law and Lawyers. 'The Editorial Notes under the heading of *The Topic of the Month* deal with 'Mr. Morley's Great speech' on the Indian Budget delivered in the House of Commons.

The Indian Review

'Will India Help?' asks Mr. Henry S. L. Polak at the very beginning of the July number of the *Indian Review* and indeed the title at first sight appears a little bit misleading. But in going through the pages we come across an impassioned and eloquent appeal on behalf of our unfortunate brethren in South Africa who are being subjected to all conceivable forms of persecution. Mr. Polak puts the case in a very able manner and exhorts us to strain every nerve to alleviate the dire sufferings of these afflicted people. Mr. Natesan himself writes an article on *Mr. Morley: His Principles and Politics* in the course of which he says: 'The truth is India does not believe that she is governed in her best interests. The faith in British justice has become lessened and the confidence of the people in the good intentions of their rulers has undoubtedly waned to a degree.' Writing on *India and Imperial Preference* Mr. Naginlal H. Setalvad puts in a scathing criticism of the views of Sir Roper Lethbridge on Imperial Preference. The article which is rich in statistical figures recommends that 'careful attention should be directed to the promotion of agriculture' in India. Mr. N. Kunjan Pillai points out the necessity of an *Agricultural Organisation in India* and observes that 'to keep up the *Swadeshi* movement it is highly important to develop our agriculture.' Mr. Benoy V. Mukerji has a small article on *Sadhuism in India* at the conclusion of which we are told that 'the limitation of the desires is the great motto of the Hindu and therefore *Sadhuism* will always have a charm for the Indian.' With the next article on *Iberian Buccaneers* we are but slightly concerned. Mr. Mahananda Gupta's article on *Manual Training* is followed by another article foreign to India. Mr. G. Santavirappa has an interesting note on the religion of *The Lingayets*. Mr. G. Annaji Rao gives a rejoinder to Mr. Glyn Barlow's poem on *Unrest*. The number closes as usual with some useful notes on Indian matters of diversified interest.

The Mysore Review

The July number of our Mysore contemporary opens with an article under the ambitious and engrossing title of *The Unrest in India and the Present Political Situation* from the pen of Mr. V. N. Narasimmiyengar. As the *Empire* has pointed out, the paper is as bulky as the name of its writer is long, and extends from page 355 to 394 of the Review. The writer is hard upon the 'Extremists,' uses all the cheap platitudes in which the average Anglo-Indian journalist delights, and fails to grasp the broader aspects of the situation he deals with. Mr. R. Shama Sastry contributes to this number the sixteenth chapter of his learned paper on *Chanakya's Arthasastra*. The story of *Satyananda* is delightful reading and is followed by the Editor's able translation of the Bengali Novel, *Kohinoor*. Mr. C. D. Nayar traces out the origin of *Mendicancy in India*. An extract from the *Malabar Quarterly Review* and some notes on the *Aloe-fibre Industry* are the last items in the number under notice.

The Malabar Quarterly Review

The first quarterly number of the sixth volume of the above Review appears under a new garb and under a new editor, Mr. K. N. Sivarajan. The number under notice opens with a *Fore-word* by the editor in which, we are glad to note, he gives vent to his intention of dealing with politics for the first time in the history of this Review. M. D. D. dedicates some *Lines to Travancore* in verse. *The History of the Malayalam Language* by Mr. M. Seshagiri Prabhu is a highly learned paper though, we are afraid, it will not be of much interest to the average student of our periodicals. Mr. K. Parameswaran Pillai puts in a strong plea for *Partition in Marumakkathayam Taruwads* (families) in the course of a lengthy article which is yet to continue. Rev. J. O'Connell's *First Impressions in Malabar* throw a flood of light on the manners and customs prevailing in this interesting land of castes. Mr. Padmanabha Kukilaya expresses his views on *The Boycott* regarding which he has nothing new to say. Mr. A. J. John's account of the *Syrians in Malabar* is noticed at length elsewhere in these pages. The number, on the whole, we are glad to say, affords good reading matter so far as Malabar is concerned.

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF JULY

1907

Date

1. The Indians in the Transvaal begin a passive resistance campaign against registration.
2. Replying to Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Morley justifies a resort to Act III of 1858.
3. Sir Subramania Iyer is temporarily appointed as Chief Justice of the Madras High Court.
4. The London *Daily News* says that Britain must be prepared to make a contribution to India to alleviate the dislocation of finances through the abolition of the opium traffic.
5. Mr. Bhupendranath Dutt, Editor, *Yugantar*, is arrested on a charge of sedition.
6. Mr. Morley decides to devote another million sterling to the construction of rolling stock for Indian railways.
8. A ladies' club, the first of its kind in India, is inaugurated by Lord Lamington at Poona.
- The Vakils of the Calcutta High Court appear for the first time in their blue gowns.
10. It is announced that India will participate officially in the coming British Exhibition to be held at Shepherd's Bush, London.
11. Mr. Basudeva Bhattacharjee, Editor of a vernacular paper called *Sonar Bangla*, is prosecuted under the Press Act. The Faridpur District Conference is prohibited.
12. An important Resolution of the Government of India in connection with the Excise Department is published at Simla.
15. A terrible fire in Bombay causes incalculable damages.
16. The long-expected hostel of the Dacca Madriassa is opened to-day by the Divisional Commissioner.
17. Referring to a pamphlet entitled "Rack-taxing in Rural India" Mr. Morley states in the Commons that it is circulated by a member of the House (Mr. C. J. O. Donnell) for the instruction of his colleagues.
18. The Government of Bombay issues a Resolution regarding the evil of dedicating girls to Hindu Gods.
19. The new batch of Gurkhas at Jamalpur severely assault some innocent people there.
20. H. E. Lord Lamington in a farewell speech before the Bombay Legislative Council reviewed the chief events during his term of office.
21. A deluge of rain inundates the low-lying districts of Bombay.
22. Justices Mitter and Fletcher of the Calcutta High Court decline to interfere with the Faridpur Magistrate's order prohibiting the District Conference there.
23. It is announced that Sir Sydenham Clarke will succeed Lord Lamington as Governor of Bombay.
24. The Editor of the *Yugantar* is sentenced to a year's rigorous imprisonment.
27. Lord Lamington departs from the shores of India.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

After a heavy session of work, Parliament has at last been prorogued. With its domestic legislations we are not very much concerned ; but it is a matter of sincere congratulation that in the session just closed, the English Parliament has devoted much greater attention and time to the consideration of Indian questions than in any period of its history since the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown. Not that the English Parliament has suddenly awakened to a sense of its responsibility towards India, not that Mr. Morley has succeeded in inducing his party to take a greater interest in Indian affairs,—but Indian affairs have forced themselves upon the attention of all civilised men.

There are some facts worth noting in connection with the recent Parliamentary history of India. The session of 1907 was opened by His Majesty the King with an Address which contained, rather very *unusually*, several references to India, the most remarkable being the anticipation of the reforms which Mr. Morley has 'adumbrated' with the Government of India during the last few months. During this session, no member of the present Cabinet, excepting, of course, the Indian Secretary, and no politician of the Front Opposition Benches, have taken any part in any Indian Debate. Excepting the question put on May 7 last which elicited from Mr. Morley the shocking news of his assent to the Punjab deportations and a subsequent question put on May 14 inquiring about the condition in the Panjaub, and an objection thrown in during the second reading of the India Council Bill, the Leader of the Opposition has left India severely alone. On the Liberal side, the Prime Minister has uniformly given India a cold shoulder and what were practically the Indian nights in the House, including the Budget one, were conspicuous by his absence. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman went so far to evince his 'interest' in one of the principal charges of the Empire, over whose affairs he has been called upon to preside, that he did not even care to make an apology for his inability to grant an extra day or two for the discussion of Indian questions when asked to do so by Sir John Jardine. Excepting these unsatisfactory references to India by the English Premier and the Leader of the Opposition, no notice has been

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taken of this country and its numerous problems by any prominent English politician either in the House of Commons or in their extra-parliamentary campaigns.

It is only a small party of some Labour Members and a few retired Anglo-Indians which have tried its best to do its duty by India and induce the British Parliament to take a sympathetic interest in the administration of this country. But most unfortunately, most of the organs of public opinion in England, instead of encouraging this spirit of interest, have fallen foul of these members and called them all sorts of names. Whether India will ever be lost on the floor of the House of Commons is more than we know ; but if it is ever so lost, the responsibility will lie on shoulders other than of those whom it is the fashion in England at the present day to sneer as the 'white Babus.'

Whatever else may be said of the 'white Babus' in the House of Commons, this must be said to their credit that they have thoroughly exposed the hypocrisy of the only statesman in England who has hitherto been known to the people as an 'honest' politician. Mr. Morley has not only been severely heckled by these members for his coercive measures, but the wide divergence of his 'preaching' from 'practice' has been clearly brought to light and thoroughly exposed. This exposure of the biographer of Burke may not have much effect on the future of Indian history, but undoubtedly it will go a great way in strengthening the conviction that it is hopeless to expect honesty and righteousness in politics. Mr. Morley's failure to govern India on the highest principles of equity and justice shows that no one can achieve the impossible in any sphere of life,—far less in politics.

The impression that a study of Mr. Morley's administration of India leaves on one's mind is that he has undertaken a task which is too much for his age. Mr. Morley cannot be expected to come to India to study its problems at first-hand ; nor has he the time to read Indian publications in order to be acquainted with what the people think of them. So, the old Indian Secretary, for Mr. Morley is now close upon 70, takes his inspiration from the only source left open to him—the official one : the other side of the shield he has no opportunity of looking into. Under the circumstances, it reflects infinite credit upon Mr. Morley's wisdom and caution that, relying solely on the man on the spot, he has not fallen into greater pitfalls than he has done. Yet, the conclusion forces itself upon our mind that it were better for India, England and for Mr. Morley himself if he had refused the Indian portfolio in the

present Liberal Cabinet. Not that any other man would have proved more sympathetic towards us, but that Mr. Morley's reputation as an honest politician would have been saved and English statesmanship—particularly Liberal statesmanship—spared from the suspicion with which it has come to be looked in India.

Mr. Morley's part in the last session of the House consisted, besides his replies to numerous Interpellations, of the delivery of his Budget speech and the introduction of what in future will be known as the India Council Bill of 1907. The speech on the Budget has generally been viewed in England with 'lively approval' and in India with 'lively disapproval.' Good or bad, there can be no doubt that the speech was conceived to wound the susceptibilities of the Indian people in general and offend the educated community in particular. Like the late Lord Salisbury's 'black man,' Mr. Morley's 'our enemies' will figure in Indian politics for many a long day. So also the contemptuous dictum that the educated Indian has not the equipment or the nerve to administer the affairs of his country for one whole week. Did not Mr. Morley himself in his first Indian Budget speech lay down the proposition that the man who dogmatizes on India is not a very wise man?

For the 'reforms' outlined in Mr. Morley's Budget speech, the details of which have just been published, all that we need say at this stage is that they are not only most *disappointing* but they are most *perverse*. There is no doubt that *number* is a great thing, but it is not the *only* thing that the people cried for. Mr. Morley seems to have completely surrendered himself to popular demands on the question of number, for, besides enlarging to a very considerable extent the existing Councils of the Empire, he has added more than half-a-dozen to them by his present scheme of reform. So, as a result of this reform, we shall have Councils and Councillors by galore, Notables and Commoners, but as to their *power*—well, well! Indeed, while Mr. Morley has given away with the one hand he has taken away with the other. For not only no further privilege or power has been granted to the existing Councils, but an insidious attempt has been made to neutralise the influence and vote of the real representatives of public opinion by introducing into them a large leaven of *ap-ke-wastes*, whom the Government letter on the subject describes as the "natural leaders of Indian society." This must be reform indeed,—with vengeance!

On the India Council Act,—the Bill has just been passed by the Lords—we have very few observations to make. Next to abolishing

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the India Council, which stands between good government and India, Mr. Morley has done the next best thing by reducing the salary of its members and requiring them to be more abreast of the changes in the views of the Indian people. This is a bold step, and Mr. Morley has our congratulation for it.

We have reserved till the last the consideration of Mr. Morley's replies to questions put to him by members in the last session. Though Mr. Morley did not treat his 'captious catechisers,' as the pro-Indian members of the House have been described in some quarter, with much courtesy, he also has not failed to administer an occasional snub to some over-zealous Imperialists. On Sir Howard Vincent's interjection about shooting Lajpat Rai, Mr. Morley expressed his sense of satisfaction that men of his kidney were never entrusted with any executive power anywhere. And when Mr. Rees told the House, though not in so many words, that the people of India did not want the separation of the executive from judicial functions, Mr. Morley neatly turned the table against him by saying that it was not a very easy thing to know what the masses of India really want. Turning aside from the question of personal discourtesy and rebukes, we find his replies to all manner of questions in the House uniformly disappointing. His reply to a question with reference to the Indian Educational Service in the beginning of the session has taken educated India by surprise: his 'settled fact' dogma on the partition of Bengal has passed into a by-word of administrative hypocrisy; his enthusiastic support of the Punjab deportations has fairly startled the civilised world; and lastly his statement in the House regarding the origin of the Hindu-Mussulman riots in Eastern Bengal has shown how completely he has been captured by the 'man on the spot.' To more than a dozen questions Mr. Morley could return no better answer than that he has had no 'official informations' on them, and to questions relating to official high-handedness and police zulum he has invariably replied by supporting official red-tape. But the worst feature of his Parliamentary life in the last session is his obstinate refusal to furnish members with informations relating to Lala Lajpat Rai's offence and to appoint a commission to inquire into the causes of 'unrest' in India. It is a thousand pities that even so 'honest' a statesman as Mr. Morley should feel nervous to let in light on the dark issues of Indian administration. That shows how far Mr. Morley has travelled away from the straight path and how autocratic has the Government of India now become. Poor India!

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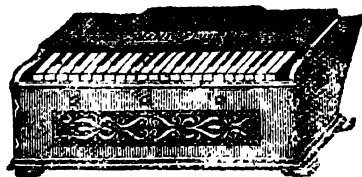
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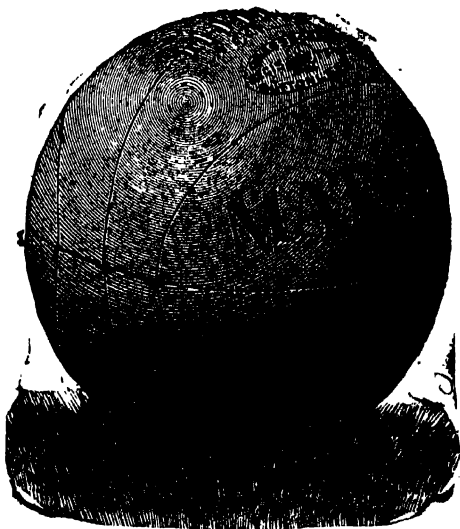
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No. 30

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SEPTEMBER, 1907

[No. 30

THE TREACHERY AT CAWNPUR

Hostility had ceased from the 24th May on both sides. The general body of the Hindu mutineers were right glad that the unpleasant task to which they had reluctantly joined had at last come to an end. They changed significant glances and said to one another cheerfully "that the *dhoos* (intrenchment) was to be vacated at last." Mr. Shepherd who, as a captive in the rebel prison, had opportunities to overhear the conversations of the mutineers, observes : "by their conversation it did not at all appear that treachery was meditated by the rebels ; the sepoys seemed to be delighted at the idea that there would be no more fighting."* Not so the Mohamedan portion of the mutineers. They complained that the Europeans after this temporary respite would act with renovated ardour. Meanwhile, Azimoola Khan, with about 150 Mohamedan leaders of the 2nd Cavalry (which was composed chiefly of Mohamedans), and Bala Sahib were deliberating a plan of treachery which was to prove to be the most foul and the most savage that modern history has ever recorded. This horrible and dark plot designed the wholesale destruction of the male portion of the English garrison at the time of embarkation. When this most abominable plot was laid before the Nana, he at first remonstrated against the adoption of such a step. He rudely gave his barbarous coadjutors to understand "that he had taken a most solemn oath to allow the English to leave in safety and therefore would not accord his consent to their slaughter." But Bala Sahib, than whom a worse villain perhaps never existed, backed by the infamous Azimollah and the ferocious Mohamedan troopers, who as it will be seen afterwards even threatened Nana to deprive him of his temporary suzerainty and of whom the Nana was very much afraid, over-ruled his decision, saying "that they had taken no solemn oath, nor bound themselves by promises and therefore were perfectly

* *Cawnpore Massacre*, p. 105.

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at liberty to do as they liked."* Thus the barbarous Mohamedan troopers with Bala Sahib and Azimoolah at their head concocted the diabolical plan of massacring *en masse* the European males when they would embark, and accordingly got ready all the preliminary arrangements. The wretched Nana trembled for his own safety at the hands of these barbarians whom he had vainly presumed as the main support of his cause.

The morning of the 27th was hailed with delight by the unfortunate defenders of the intrenchment. The necessary arrangements were made for the safe conduct of the women and children and the wounded from the intrenchment to the banks of the river. Early in the morning, elephants, carts and doolies were sent to the intrenchment,—a distance of about a mile and a half from the place of embarkation. At about 6 A.M. about 450 in number had left the intrenchment and reached the river bank—the spot known as the Sati Choura Ghat. Breakfast was laid out there for the men, women and children. But all these apparently civil and generous acts were enacted simply as a cover to a most diabolical act of treachery. After hearty breakfast, the hapless victims hastened to the boats, 300 in number, which were waiting for them in the river. But unfortunately some of the boats remaining in shallow water, much valuable time was lost in getting them ready. All on a sudden, at about 9 A.M., a bugle was sounded by order of Bala and Azimoolah.† On this piercing blast of bugle, at once broke forth from either shore a murderous storm of grape and musketry on the boats. Utterly taken by surprise, the helpless English tried in vain to proceed to the middle of the river. Overwhelmed by this terrible cross-fire many of the boats were utterly destroyed and others burst forth in flames. Some of the boats were aground and every attempt was made by the fugitives to have them afloat; but all was in vain. The mounted Mohamedan troopers dashing their way through the water began saving the men and capturing the boats, studiously avoiding killing the females, rescuing them for their brutal and unbridled lust. Only one boat succeeded in forcing its way through the swarm of unrelenting enemies; and of its inmates only four viz. Mowbray Thomson, Delafosse, privates Murphy and Sullivan, survived to reach the friendly asylum of Maharaja Digbijay Singh Bahadoor of Balarampore. The rest of the boats were all captured and its male inmates were put to the sword.‡

* Shepherd's *Cawnpore Massacre*, p. 107.

† Col. William's *Report*.

‡ Vide Mowbray Thomson's *Story of Cawnpore*, p.p. 170—186. c.f also *Further Papers No 7, Mutinies in the East Indies*, p. 133.

THE TREACHERY AT CAWNPUR

The females to the number of about 125 or 130 were saved. It would have been better for them had they found a watery grave under the hailstorm of a murderous fire ; but they were reserved for a worse fate. A selection was made of the fairest and the youngest of the lot by the Mussalman mutineers who quarrelled among themselves for the possession of some of these fair captives. This led to a row, in consequence of which the rebel authorities issued a proclamation for returning the Feringee ladies to *Sada Kootee*. This proclamation was not obeyed by all the troopers who already ran away from the river-bank with the fairest and the handsomest of them. General Wheeler's youngest daughter, a blooming and charming girl of 18, was carried away by Ali Khan, a young Mohamedan trooper and was never afterwards restored. She lived the remaining days of her life with her captor under a Mohamedan name.

Such is the brief and terrible account of the massacre perpetrated on the bank of the Ganges fifty years ago. Englishmen generally impute the authorship of this dark and filthy act to those persons who had nothing to do with this affair. The sepoy, at least the mass of the Hindus among them, never sullied their hand in such a dirty work. They already had begun to lament over their disloyalty.* It was a barbarous and licentious section of the Musulman troopers who joined with alacrity in the diabolical treachery planned and invented by the Bala Sahib and Azimoola Khan, once the fetid and beloved guest of high-class society ladies in England, in defiance of the most solemn oath of the Nana. It is recorded in the Parliamentary Black Book "that Azimoola with 150 Musulman troopers of the 2nd Regiment Light Cavalry and Taka Sing were at the bottom of all mischief. It is through their instigation that the Europeans were killed in cold blood."† But at the same time, this must be admitted that though Nana Sahib remonstrated with the Bala and Azimoola for taking such a step and did not join in their dark conspiracy, he was completely under the mercy of the savage Musulman troopers. It is certain that he did not take any active or manly step to keep his promise from being broken, for the Nana, as we have already said, was not a man of high character and noble sentiment. The only scruple which prevented him from joining the conspirators was his promise. But for that sole consideration he might have openly joined the conspirators. He had no objection to

* Shepherd's *Cawnpore Massacre*, III.

† Further Papers. No 4 P. 183.

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have the hated Feringhees murdered by others, though he deemed it a great sin to order or encourage it himself. His cause was an injured one which every impartial person will admit. But the method adopted by him to wreak vengeance on the authors of his ruin has, instead of ranking him with those who fight for the just cause, consigned him to a place in history—which even at this distant period condemns it with mingled feelings of horror and abhorrence.

One thing of utmost importance has to be noted at this place. English historians generally associate the name of Tantia Topee with this black conspiracy. This uncharitable opinion is based simply on the evidences of those whose interest was adverse to that of Tantia. His being the lieutenant of the notorious Nana is the ostensible reason given of his being an accomplice to an affair which the master himself even did not sanction or approve. The readiness of the English to believe in whatever might be said against the Nana and his associates engendered much of the fanciful theorising about the Mutiny period which do not hold water on examination. The personage whose fearlessness, lofty character and firmness of mind disdained the conception of any act of cruelty could not be a party to such a diabolical massacre as that of Cawnpore. We have heard from many old reliable residents of Cawnpore that Tantia Topee's hand was clean and never did he sully it with the blood of the unoffending and the innocent. Be it said here once for all that in the field of treachery, atrocity and murder the aid of Tantia was never wanted by the Nana for there were a large number of persons in the idle and wicked society of the Nana always ready to lend him a helping hand whenever required.

G.L.D.

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF CRIME

THE STORY OF BACKERGUNGE

The *Swadesi* movement has brought Barisal to the fore, and in the gamut of sensations she is taking us through, one is apt to forget everything besides. Yet up till only two years ago, to most people outside Bengal, Barisal's claim to celebrity was for two such widely-divergent things as *Rice* and *Murder*, excepting of course the strange meteorological phenomenon known as the "Barisal Gun"—the sphinx that is ever eluding the grasp of Proteus Science. Alas! the grim spectre of famine is now mocking her imposing

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sobriquet of the "Granary of Bengal," while in the eddy of sensational activity its notoriety in respect of crime is readily forgotten.

Tales pass like coin and stories of the Barisal criminal have found place in literature. The Barisal assassin has become quite a unique figure in the history of Lower Bengal and the Barisal thief hangs about the purlieus of the town and the cottages of the village. Everybody inquires of the reason for the prevalence of crime in Backergunge. The people are generally very shrewd, intelligent and, as a common observation has it, "every body is an embryo pleader in the District." The anomaly therefore is all the more striking. The subject is suggestive enough, and in its anthropological aspect would at once open up a long vista of discussion, but the limits of a magazine article necessarily forbid such a tempting desire.

No table of statistics is necessary for establishing the major premise, for it is a notorious truth that in the record of crime in Bengal Barisal takes the cake easily enough. It is perhaps convenient to remember at this stage that the passion for crime only clings to the lower grades of society, the *Nama Sudras*, and the low-class Mussulmans. The line of demarcation between the *Bhadroloks* and the *low-class people* is rigidly defined at all places, even in these days of transition when social strata are shifting up and down. The upper classes rest content with civil litigation only, and even in this respect it is an eloquent fact that Barisal is easily first. The reason for this disparity in the inclinations of the two grades is not accidental but has its psychological origin in the roots of society. The distinction between civil and criminal law is of later growth in the evolution of society, and the growth of the conception marks off the development. With the lower classes, the slow and refined process of civil law seems strange—their maxim is the pagan motto—'a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye—a life for a life.' The checks of public opinion, of culture and civilisation are to a great extent absent in them. Had they the making of the law of the country, they would probably, as we find in the *Hedaya*, punish manslaughter only with fine. The result is that under the identical set of circumstances, where a patrician will go to a civil court, his plebian brother would take the law in his own hands.

To understand the normal condition of Backergunge life in reference to the subject under review, it is also necessary to have some idea of Barisal homes. They are in short so many petty domestic despotisms. Each man builds his homestead on his own

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land without any reference to the convenience of his neighbours as elsewhere. The homesteads lie apart, buried in dense plantations of cocoanuts and betelnut trees. The wholesome social restraints are therefore lacking, and this coupled with the domineering disposition engendered by the prevailing general plenty make the people prone to sudden outbursts of passion. When the harvest is reaped, the lord of the castle—as a Backergunje peasant may well be described—revels in idleness and Satan always finds something for idle hands to do. It is significant that crimes are more frequent after the harvest time than at any other seasons of the year. Again it is a historical fact that the district is mainly peopled by emigrants who as a rule exhibit certain characteristics in a marked degree. In a typical Backergunje man, impulse has developed into fanatical passion—shrewdness into chicanery. A low-class Backergunje peasant will very often commit a murder when his land is encroached upon, when his harvesting is interfered with, when he has a caste feud to settle, when he has to wreak a vengeance and even for such petty offences as when he finds his wife a little late in serving his meal or speaking to a person whom he does not like or know. As for lesser offences, the Barisal forger has a reputation unequalled in Bengal and his services are brought into requisition all over the province whenever a forgery has to be perpetrated or a document to be tampered with.

Bengal is poor but there is probably less poverty in Backergunje than elsewhere in the province. We may truthfully apply Longfellow's description of Grand Pré to Backergunje and say—"There the richest is poor and the poorest live in abundance." This opulence and abundance explain much that is extraordinary in Backergunje life and it is worth while to explain the matter in some detail.

Washed by the Bay on the south and covered by a network of natural canals, this delta land is perhaps the most fertile district in the whole of Bengal. It is very much like Venice and Holland rolled into one. Wide sheets of green rice spread as far as the horizon—the gold and the purple meeting in empurpled distance lending an enchantment almost idyllic in its character. The peasant homesteads in the paddy season stand like "moated granges" and the towers of gold (as the heaps of paddy appear) suffuse a charm it would do one's soul good to see or feel. Trim rice-fields ardently locked in the fond embraces of numerous rivers and creeks; tall betelnut trees throwing up their spiral columns in the azure sky, their green bosoms exposed against the blue above; the proud cocoa-nuts and palmyra almost growing

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into wild luxuriance—all these testify to the prosperity of the District. The reason for the tenacity of the Backergunje peasant for his ancestral acre is thus obvious. As Mr. Beveridge expresses it : "The Backergunje peasant holds on to his land with a persistence which reminds one of the Athenian soldier who grasped the Persian ship with his right hand and when that was cut off, seized it with his left and when that too was lopped away clung to it with his teeth. Land disputes, therefore, it is not surprising, are plentiful as black-berries and with an excitable race the result is a crop of murders and other cognate offences. It is a pregnant fact that the majority of criminal offences here appertain to land—if it is murder or grievous hurt it is almost always in assertion of a supposed or *bonafide* claim of title—if it is forgery it is because *dakhilas* and documents must be manufactured to establish it. Land comes in for a good deal here. The fertility of the soil helps in another way to swell the record of crime by its concomitant development of sub-infeudation. Sub-infeudation proves a great disturbing factor in the determination of questions of title and the uncertainty and complication it introduces in the tenures provoke abundant disputes which culminate in murders and battery cases. The point may be made clear by an example ;—the *bigha* of land yielding say Rs. 100 a year can entertain more middlemen leaving a handsome profit to each than a *bigha* of land yielding say Rs. 25 a year. Students of Rent Law need hardly be reminded that Backergunje is unique in this respect—Chittagong is its distant rival." Writers on the subject, it is respectfully submitted, commit an error in tracing this sub-infeudation to absentee landlordism alone. It may be a contributing factor but this is not the only reason nor even the principal reason. It is quite true that when landlords are absentees, the lands pass into the hands of middlemen who insist upon permanence of tenure but this is a feature common to all systems of land tenure and nothing exceptional about Backergunge. To trace sub-infeudation, therefore, to landlordism alone is falling into the manifest logical fallacy involved in Mill's second experimental canon.

Next to offences against the public tranquility and affecting the human body and property are the offences against the marital law and public morality, confined almost exclusively to the Mahommedan community. The chief reasons for crimes under this head may be here enumerated :—early marriage, domestic quarrels arising out of the peculiar constitution of the Mussulman household, pecuniary temptations, strong passion and love of crime itself. The causes are

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aggravated by the fact, lamentable enough in all conscience, that education here is at a considerably low ebb. In the Dakshin Shahabazpur sub-division, containing about 3,00,000, souls, there is only one graduate and altogether the number of persons having any pretension to literary education can be literally counted on the finger's ends. Mahomedan elders try to make money by giving away the hands of their female wards in marriage to more than one person and cases are daily transpiring in law courts where for the same bride at least half a dozen bridegrooms are able to produce *kabins* (marriage deeds) in support of their marital rights. The sequel is disastrous and many are the abduction and bigamy cases springing out of this unsatisfactory practice. Unless and until a more satisfactory system be introduced, as is in the contemplation of the Government, by the compulsory registration of marriages, things must continue as bad as now. It is a happy sign of progress that respectable Mahomedans recognise it, for reforms must proceed along the lines of least resistance and with the sufferance of the people concerned.

Again, the *kabins* (i.e. marriage deeds) are fettered with such impossible conditions that their enforcement in actual practice must give rise to litigation, both civil and criminal. It has been very well observed by somebody that the word 'love' does not so much occur in marriage settlements as in the preliminary discourses. In England, they are the attorney's business—here they are drafted by the village tout who sits enthroned beneath the shade of the lofty banyan in quest of his prey. The registration returns shew that more *kabins* are registered in this district than in any other part of Bengal. A mournfully interesting case may be mentioned as an eloquent commentary on marriage-conditions in this district. The case has just been tried by the additional Sessions Judge of Backergunge and the accused has been awarded the extreme penalty of the law. The accused, a finished Arabic scholar, married in the family of another distinguished Moulavi. The conditions of the betrothal incorporated in the *kabin*, *inter alia*, were that the husband would remain for ever a *ghar jamai* (a son-in-law who would settle down in his father-in-law's family) and hand over his earnings to the family. For a time everything ran on smoothly, but the terms were too galling to his sensitive soul and he wanted to take his bride home, which the father-in-law would under no circumstances allow. One evening—the sunset glow had not vanished from the trees—in the sacred hall of prayers, the earthly careers of the father-in-law and brother-in-law were cut short by the

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF CRIME

ruthless hand of the *Jamai*. This double murder in a somewhat high life has drawn unusual attention to the unusual temperament of the people.

Green-eyed jealousy for woman's love works potent mischief everywhere and as there is nothing special about it in the District in question, no special mention is necessary. The vindictiveness of a typical Backergunje man is well known, and once his ire is roused he will not shrink at anything to feed his grudge. Cases have been known of persons keeping earthen pots full of poisonous snakes near the heads of enemies—there is no length he is not prepared to go. It is useful to remember one thing in connection with Backergunje crimes—the non-existence of any criminal classes or any organised rape-gangs as in the district of Mymensing.

Man is a creature of his environments. The exclusive character of the district is plenty and opulence—the characteristic land tenures and climatic conditions have had their effect upon the character and temperament of the people. Chill penury does not freeze the energies nor the ardent enthusiasms and passions of an impetuous and impulsive people who, untrammelled to any great extent by any of the recognised checks of social restraint, culture and education, naturally seek distinction in the manifestations of physical force. Given a certain set of circumstances, the inevitable result must follow; and Backergunje only follows the inexorable law of unbending nature. While it is no good to shut one's eyes to the stern realities of the situation, it is scarcely statesmanship to ignore the radical factors of the position in the solution of the problem. It is difficult to prescribe any single remedy for a situation of such marvellous complexity, but it is confidently expected that the proposed scheme of universal Primary Education may have a direct effect in modifying the temperament of the people. Mr. Reilley, a superintendent of Police in the early eighties, was so much impressed with this aspect of the problem that he expressed his opinion that the prevention of murder in Barisal should be the work of the schoolmaster and not the police-man. In the fringe area on the south, in the wilds of Sunderbunds—where Master Stripes has its undisputed sway—in the Lalmohun island where the sea moans round with many voices—the people are still, as it were, on the morn of the world—there's not the slightest check of village collective life upon their violence and passion.

Backergunje has a great future before her—Nature in her generous mood has covered the land with luxurious plenty in her most vivid pigments of green and blue and it is for Man now to

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utilise this gift to the good of his country and the advancement of his civilisation.

Suresh Chandra Taluqdar

CENTRALISATION AND DECENTRALISATION

The discussion by us, Indians, of political questions appears to many of my countrymen to be entirely futile, and specially so at a moment when Indian public opinion is flouted in the most disgraceful manner. Our views count for nothing in the counsels of our rulers, and whatever may be our grievances in respect of their measures, our voice amounts to nothing better than a cry in the wilderness. But still I think such discussion is useful and necessary for two reasons : first, in order to train our faculties with a view to prepare ourselves for undertaking the work of government in future ; and secondly, in order to enable us to decide what attitude we should take up with regard to any particular measure of the Government. I venture, therefore, to say a few words on a subject which is one of the burning questions of the day and which has received the almost unique honour of being referred to a Royal Commission.

In an article on this subject in the August number of the *Indian World*, Mr. J. D. Anderson has put forward a plea in favour of decentralisation. Mr. Anderson deserves our thanks for the expression of his sympathy with some of our aspirations and for the dispassionate manner in which he has discussed the subject. But I beg leave to point out that his conclusion is based on wrong hypotheses. In the first place, he seems to think that decentralisation necessarily implies an increase in the liberties of the people. Here Mr. Anderson is mistaken. The limitation of the authority of the Supreme Government merely means the extension of the powers of the Local Governments, and such extension may, as it often does, result in a further restriction of the liberties of the people. Freedom in the Local Government, as Prof. Seeley remarks, "may easily be equivalent to slavery in the subject, since it is freedom to command, to prohibit, and to punish." Then he cites the cases of Canada and Australia to show that decentralisation has always preceded the establishment of a federal government. No doubt this is true, but the reason is to be found in the fact that each of the States constituting the federal Union had a natural growth of its own, and not that the whole was divided into parts

CENTRALISATION & DECENTRALISATION

by some superior authority. Again, when comparing the case of Canada (or Australia) with that of India, Mr. Anderson overlooks the very important difference between the two, viz., that whereas the former is an organic State, the latter is an inorganic one. In the former, there is no line of demarcation between the rulers and the ruled; in the latter, there is. In the one, the interests of the rulers and the ruled are identical; in the other, they are divergent. Lastly, Mr. Anderson takes it as an hypothesis that the government intends to give the educated Indians an opportunity for showing their fitness for political employment. But I do not see what leads him to interpret the intentions of the government in that way. There are no words in the speech of the Secretary of State or in the terms of reference to the Commission which would justify our taking that view. On the other hand, the temper of the government, as shown in its recent measures, points to the opposite direction.

Decentralisation might be defended from other points of view. For instance, it might be said that it would improve the working of the administrative machinery, or that it would lighten the excessive burden now placed on the shoulders of the Viceroy. Into the discussion of these matters I do not wish at present to enter. But I want only to show that it is not defensible from Mr. Anderson's standpoint viz., that it would prove beneficial to the interests of the people.

Nor should we delude ourselves with any hopes which must eventually turn out to be false. If the real object of the authorities had been to extend the rights of the people, the proper way to do it would have been to modify, however slightly, the existing principle of government by making it less autocratic, more impersonal. But 'Honest' John has declared from his place in Parliament that the Government of India must remain personal—for a long time to come (if not for ever). It may be contended that the terms of reference to the Commission are wide enough to admit of the inclusion of some scheme which may tend to further the well-being of the people. Of course, it may, but the chance is so small, and our experience has hitherto been so uniformly sad, that it would be better for us not to indulge in any fond hopes at this stage.

The most important effect of decentralisation would, I believe, be to tighten the iron grip of the government over the people, so as to crush what little of life is still left in them. Each little despot will be armed with full powers to oppress the people in whatever way he may choose. It may, moreover, have another equally mischievous effect. It may strike a blow at the growing tendency towards the dis-

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appearance of the inveterate spirit of locality and the substitution for it of the larger and nobler spirit of nationality. Thus decentralisation will tend not only to retard future progress but also to undo the good work that has been done in the past.

In conclusion, I have only to add that my object is not to prejudge the Government, but to sound a note of warning to my countrymen. If the findings of the Commission result in some scheme conducive to the welfare of the country, it would be welcome. But let us be prepared for the worst, so that if the worst comes, we may not be taken by surprise, but may be found ready to meet the situation.

Pramathanath Banerji

SOME INTERESTING PEOPLES OF CHOTANAGPUR II.

A LEGEND OF MUNDA MYTHOLOGY

"All ancient history," it has been said, "shades off into the mists of the legendary." If this is true of the early history of civilised races, it is much more so of the history of an unlettered savage tribe like the Mundas. The past history of this people is shrouded in an obscurity on which modern researches have yet shed but a dim uncertain light. In fact, Mundari history, anterior to the British occupation of the country, has hardly yet been extricated from the "mists of fabling Time."

The historical memory of such a savage people as the Mundas is necessarily short and faulty. And even such traditionary legends as are handed down to them by their ancestors are apt to get more or less transfigured in the very process of transmission from one generation to another. They get hopelessly intermixed, at times with figments of some individual brain, and, at others, with embellishments borrowed from alien races with whom they may come in intimate contact at some period or other of their chequered tribal existence. Not infrequently perhaps both these causes combine to transform the original tradition into a strange shape past all recognition. And such indeed may have been the fate of not a few of the scanty traditions and legends that have come down to the present generation of the Mundas.

It is none too early then to attempt to bring together the few comparatively genuine traditions and legends still current among the Mundas of the Chotanagpur Plateau. Such traditions and legends may perhaps cast some glimmer of light on the past history

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of the race. And by focussing the stray rays of light thus obtained, we may possibly expect to catch a glimpse of some of the realities of the dim dark ages of Munda antiquity.

First and foremost in point of sanctity and popularity, though not indeed of historical luminosity, stands the Munda *mythus* of Lutkum Haram and Lutkum Buria, otherwise known as the Asur Legend.

Thus runs this curious legend of Munda mythology :—

It was long long before the earliest dawn of human history. The earth was yet in its infancy. Sing Bonga,* “the dreaded lord of Time,” was seated on his throne of gold, engaged in happy converse with his heavenly consort,

“Wiling with love the morning calm.”

But the heavenly pair had not long been thus agreeably occupied, when they were disturbed in their dalliance by an intolerable heat which suddenly surcharged the thin atmosphere of heaven. And just at that moment, there went up from the beasts that roamed the earth below piteous complaints to Sing Bonga’s throne on high.

“The heat emanating from the furnaces of the Asurs,” so ran the complaints, “this unearthly heat is drying up the streams, the tanks and the pools, and scorching up all vegetation. We are dying of hunger and of thirst. Nor do the birds of the air nor the worms that crawl on the earth find any food to eat or water to drink.”

On this, the enraged Sing Bonga armed himself with his sword and his shield, and fiercely exclaimed, “These *Asurs*† I will slay and hack them into pieces.” But his wife protested. “Alone,” said she, “thou art no match for the whole host of the Asurs. Rather employ state-craft and artifice.” This appeared to Sing Bonga a counsel of perfection. And to this he agreed, and acted accordingly.

The energetic bird Dingchua and the watchful Kerketa, were selected as messengers to convey Sing Bonga’s high behests to the Asurs. And, forthwith, the Dingchua and the Kerketa

“O’er the wide expanse of ether stray’d,”

and carried their message to the human Vulcans. In the name of

* Sing Bonga is the beneficent Sun-God, the Supreme Deity of Munda Mythology. A mutilated version of this legend has been adopted by the Uraons of Chotanagpur.

† There is a Kolarian tribe of this name dwelling mostly in the more jungly places in the western parts of the Ranchi district. Iron-smelting is the tribal profession of the Asurs of Chotanagpur. Whether the present legend refers to any struggle between this Kolarian tribe of Asurs and their kinsmen the Mundas, we shall discuss in a subsequent chapter.

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Sing Bonga, they commanded the Asurs to stop all work at their furnaces in the day-time if they should work at night, and to stop all work at night if they worked in the day-time. But the Asurs laughed at them and declared they owned no allegiance to Sing Bonga and insulted his messengers by besmearing the Dingchua with coal-dust and the Kerketa with the dust of iron-ore. The unfortunate messengers flew back to Sing Bonga and in great grief exclaimed: "Alas! alas! what shall we do? now will our kith and kin excommunicate us, to be sure." Sing Bonga, thereupon, consoled them, saying: "Return you both to your own places. All Dingchuas shall henceforth look black and all Kerketas shall from this day be grey in colour." And since then Dingchuas have become black and Kerketas grey.

Then Sing Bonga selected the golden vulture (*Sonadidi**) and the silvery vulture (*Rupadidi*) for the same errand. And forthwith the vultures 'plied their pinions bold,' and sought the Asur village. But no sooner had they delivered their message than the Asurs struck them with a hammer and poked them with iron pincers. And thus were they both driven away.

Fresh messengers were now despatched. And this time Sing Bonga's choice fell upon the *Lipi*† and the *Kaua*‡. Their nimble wings wafted them "fleetly through the air." But at the Asura village, the same fate awaited them as had attended the Dingchua and the Kerketa. The Asurs cast coal-dust on the crow and iron-dust on the lark, and expelled them from their presence.

Last of all, the little birds Lang§ and Bocho|| proceeded on the same errand. Lightly they "skimmed through regions rare" and alighted where the grim Asurs were smelting iron at their furnaces. But these messengers too did not fare any better. The wicked Asurs bathed the Bocho in saffron-water and lengthened the Lang's tail by pulling hard at it. And the Lang and the Bocho were then driven away.

Now at length Sing Bonga himself had to stoop down from his "ærial heights," and had to resort to artifice and cunning. Down he descended from his throne on high and alighted on

* *Didi* is the mundari name for a vulture.

† *Lipi* is the mundari name for the lark.

‡ *Kaua* is the common crow.

§ The *Lang* is a small bird with a beautiful long red tail. Munda girls sometimes stick feathers of the *Lang's* tail into their hair as an ornament on festive occasions.

|| The *Bocho* is a small bird of a deep yellow colour. It is considered by the Mundas as a propitious bird. And its whistling notes if heard in the course of a journey augur well for the success of the fortunate traveller.

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Ekasipiri Terasibadi—the land of eighty-one uplands and eighty-three elevated rice-fields. There he met a labourer working in one of the fields. And Sing Bonga raised up itches all over this labourer's skin. Then he requested the man to allow himself to try his spade. But the man would not, out of respect for the noble-looking stranger, listen to such a proposal. Thereupon Sing Bonga seized him by the hair and gave him such a vigorous shaking as served to peel off the servant's skin. And now Sing Bonga put on the servant's cast-off itch-covered skin, and, personating a boy affected with itches, went about in search of the Asurs.

Arrived at the place where the Asurs lived, he moved about from door to door, offering his services as a servant-boy. "I shall guard your grains against the ravages of the fowls," he went about saying, "food and shelter only do I want for my services." But the Asurs dreaded the contagion of his loathsome itches and would not have him for a servant. To the next village then he went. There too at first none would have his services. But some kind people of this place directed him to a miserable hut at one end of the village where lived an aged Munda couple called Lutkum Haram and Lutkum Buria.*

Arrived before the Lutkums' hut, Sing Bonga called out, "Grandfather and grandmother,—are you in? I am Toro Kora,† the itch-afflicted boy." And the old couple took pity on the poor boy and took him under their protection. And day after day, the Toro Kora, as he was called, dutifully kept off the fowls from the grain, spread out by the Lutkums to dry.

Thus his days passed smoothly along. After a time, the Toro Kora requested the Lutkums to get some eggs of hen for him, as his sores, said he, produced a strong craving for such delicacies. And the old couple procured him a few eggs and prepared a few rice-cakes for him.

Not long afterwards, the boy, taking advantage of the Lutkums' absence from home, went to the Asur-boys and drew them on to play a game of *guli*‡ and *Kati*§ with him. Twelve Asur boys

* Lutkum Haram is literally Lutkum the old man. Lutkum Buria is literally Lutkum the old woman.

† *Kasra* or *Toro* in Mundari means *itches*, and *Kora* means a boy.

‡ *Guli* is a marble ordinarily made of clay. And the game of *guli* resembles a game at marbles.

§ *Kati* is a small wicket more broad than long, which is planted on the ground and the players aim at these pickets from some distance with other *katis* in their hands, which are shot like balls in a game of cricket. The players have each a stick in his hand which serves as a bat to drive the *katis*.

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(and thirteen Deota* boys) accepted his challenge and entered the lists against him. They had their *gulis* and *katis* all made of iron. But the poor Toro Kora had only a few eggs for his *gulis* and rice-cakes for his *katis*. And with these he engaged in an apparently unequal contest with his better-equipped opponents. •

[Here the impulsive Munda narrator breaks out into a *durang*, or song. As a sample of Mundari Song we reproduce the original Durang below and append a free metrical translation of it.]

Mare honko† guli inungtana' do

Mare honko kati inungtana' do.

Toro Kora gulikedae,

—Baro bhai hasurkoa mered guli rapud-jana

Kasra Kora katikedae,

—Terobhai deotakoa mered kati rapud jana

“Auri hale Toro Kora

Auri hale Kasra Kora

Ama jiangking,

Ama tatang king,

Buru bichatanaking,

Tondang kuila tanaking,

Babaking tasitukadmeaking,

Simko jomchaba rikaked koam.”

“Hela-a jiangking !

Hela-a tatangking !

Burabicha janaben,

Tondangkuila janaben.

Toro Kora do, Kasra Kora do,

Mod pati baba do,

Bar pati baba do,

Tasitukaiaaben.

“Toro Kora do, Kasra Kora do

Nekasipirire Terasibadire,

Aleloge guli inungjana' do

Simko sukuriko jom chabakeda'

Naeke daia tatangking.

* There is really no mention of the Deota boys in any portion of the legend except in the song given below. Evidently this song is of a later date than the original legend; and the introduction of the Deotas or Gods is an embellishment borrowed much later from Hindu legends. It is significant that in the version of this legend as related by the Uraons (who appear to have adopted many religious practices and part of their mythology from the Mundas) we hear of thirteen brothers Lodhas and twelve brothers Asurs. In the Uraon version we also hear of Ansrāj Pakraj—God's horse—another invention of Hindu folklore.

† *Hoko* is sometimes used.

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Chinape loloa ?
Chinape basana ?
Hela-a Toro Kora,
Hela-a Kasra Kora,
Mod pati baba do,
Bar pati baba do,
“Simko sukuriko jomchabarikakedkoam.
Chinabu loloa : chinabu basana ?”
“Ka-a jiang king !
Ka-a tatangking !
Ka-aing jomrikaledkoa
Sehelre ing rurungakada
Sehelre mena
Enabu mandia,
Enabu basana.”

TRANSLATION

Now see them play, th' *gulis* go bang,
The *katis* clash in merry twang.
There lo ! the itch-afflicted boy
Now deals his master-stroke ;
And straight, like glass, are th' iron *gulis*
Of the Asura brothers broke.
At *kati* next, his hand he tries,
With all his might and main—
The Deota brothers' iron *katis*,
Alas ! they break in twain.
[Ill could defeat the Asuras brook,
With spite and ire their bodies shook.
Grieved to find themselves thus foil'd,
In rage the Deota brothers boil'd.
Addressing the boy whom they 'gan despise,
The Deotas and Asurs exclaimed this wise.]
“Hold ! Hold ! thou boy with itches on thy skin
We'll teach thee a lesson a short while within,
Thy granny and grandpa' well hast obey'd,
Who left thee in charge of all and sped
To yon blue hill for iron ore,
Or to the woods for charcoal more.
The paddy they had left in the sun to dry,
The fowls have devour'd and all their fry.”
[Soon as the approaching Lutkums they 'spied,
The Asurs and the Deotas to the old pair hied

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Still smarting under their ill success
The Lutkums did they thus address :]
"O ! Listen, grandfather, and O ! grandmother dear,
A fine account of your boy from us you'll hear !
Away in the woods for charcoal and iron ore,
Whilst you did roam deeming your home secure.
A mat or two of rice spread out to dry
In charge of your *protege* that scabby boy,
O ! what guess ye, your boy the whiles was after ?
A jolly time he had of play and laughter !
With us at *gula* and at kapi he play'd in troth !
At Nekasitiri Terasibadi, forsooth !
And th' fowls and th' pigs as jolly a time had they,
Who ate their fill of the rice on the mats that lay.
Say, what will you for your daily meal have now ? "
Not a grain is left to cook or boil, we trow ,
[At this their boy the Lutkums seek,
And thus in angry accents speak :]
"Look here ! thou scabby boy, what hast thou done !
The rice we left on the mats to dry in the sun,
The pigs and the fowls you've made it all devour,
Whilst away we went for charcoal and iron ore.
What shall we for our daily meal have now ?
Not a grain is left to cook and boil, we trow !
[Unmov'd was the boy :—To his cheeks not a blush did arise
But softly the angry Lutkums he address't this wise:]
A pretty tale from prating imps you hear !
Heed them not, grandfather and grandmother dear.
Not a grain is lost, not a grain did the fowls devour,
With the thrashel I husk'd them, in th' husking-pit they are.
All winnow'd is the paddy. Go, your accustom'd meal prepare
Oh, fret not grandmother. Go, cook a delicious fare."*

* Most accounts give a few more lines of song to precede the stanzas given above. Those introductory lines of the song are as follow :—

Nekasipirire Terasibadire,
Toro Kora do Kasra Kora do
Simjarom^ggulite : lupulad katite
Barobhai hasur kolo ;
Terobhai Deota kolo,
Guli inungtana do,
Kati inung tano do.
Hasur honko idikeda mered guli do,
Deota honko idikeda mered kati do.
Toro Kora idikeJa simjarom guli,
Kasra Kora idikeda lupulad kati do.

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The incredulous old couple thereupon examined the husking-pit. And what was their astonishment and delight when they found it full of husked rice ! And so were the basket and the mat filled with paddy. But theirs was only a momentary happiness. The good old couple soon had their misgivings. Had the boy stolen the paddy of others ? Were they going to partake of the fruits of crime ? They felt quite ill at ease. And they beseeched the boy to speak out the truth. " Be not uneasy, my grandsires. It is all your own. Sing Bonga gives it to you in plenty." So, at length, the virtuous old couple were re-assured.

Once, again, during the Lutkum's absence from home, the Toro Kora matched his egg-*gulis* and his cake-*katis* against the iron-*gulis* and iron-*katis* of the Deotas and the *Asurs*. And once again the iron-*gulis* and iron-*katis* of the Deotas and the *Asurs* smashed into pieces at a stroke of the egg-*gulis* and cake-*katis* of the Toro-Kora. And once more the envious complaint of the Deota boys and the *Asur* boys were falsified by the discovery of plenty of rice in the husking-pit and in the basket and on the bamboo-mats. And not unnaturally the itch-covered boy came to be regarded as endowed with supernatural powers.

Now, it so happened that the outturn of the *Asurs*' furnaces began habitually to run short. And the *Asurs* were mightily distressed. They searched about for a soothsayer, but none could be had. And, at their wit's end, they had recourse to the magic *Sup** or winnowing-fan. The *Sup* pointed them to the Toro Kora. And to him accordingly the *Asurs* applied for a remedy for their

[TRANSLATION]

In Nekasipiri, in Terasibadi
The boy with itches bespeckl'd and ruddy ;
For balls he had some eggs of hen,
For *katis* cakes of paddy grain,
With *Asura* brothers a dozen in all,
With thirteen brothers they Deotas call
He plays at *guli*—that scabby boy,
He plays at *kati*—in evident joy.
The *Asura* boys they carried all
With them full many an iron ball ;
The Deota boys they had as well
Many a *kati* of iron fell,
But the itch-affected boy had then
For balls the eggs of many a hen—
For *katis* what did he take again,
But cakes made up of paddy grain ?

* The *sup* or winnowing-fan test is the orthodox method employed by the Mundas and Uraons to ascertain the will of the gods. This test is ordinarily applied when by reason of the extinction of the original hereditary Pahan family of the village or for other sufficient reason, a new Pahan has to be elected. More than one process of the application of the *sup* test is in vogue among the Mundas of Chotanagpur. These will be described in detail in a subsequent chapter.

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difficulties. They carried rice-grains to him and requested him to examine them and divine the means they should adopt to ensure the desired supply of iron. The Toro Kora examined the rice-grains and directed the Asurs to offer up a white fowl in sacrifice to Sing Bonga. And this the Asurs did. And then their furnaces again worked fairly well. Not long after, however, the Asurs' supply of iron again ran short. And again they applied to the Toro Kora. And this time a white goat was pronounced to be the proper sacrifice. And a white goat was accordingly sacrificed and it came about all right as predicted. And at this the Asurs rejoiced. But their rejoicings were not to last long. Again, their furnaces fell in. The Toro Kora was again appealed to. The sacrifice of a young sheep was now recommended. The Asurs hastened to comply. And, again, great was their rejoicing, for, again their furnaces worked all right.

Before long, however, the old troubles with their furnaces recurred. And once more the Asurs had recourse to the young prophet. But this time nothing less than a human sacrifice was indicated by the rice-grains examined by the Toro Kora. And so the Toro-Kora revealed the divine will. At this startling revelation, the Asurs were dumb-founded and knew not what to do. In vain they searched for an available human being for the dread purpose. They went among the Mundas* and offered to buy for any price a child for the intended sacrifice. But the haughty Munda parents spurned such an offer, and would have killed the heartless men who dared make such an unfeeling proposal, had not the Asurs straight-way fled for dear life. And so the Asurs returned to the Toro Kora and again besought his advice. Now, the itch-afflicted boy thus proposed to solve their difficulty. Said he, "Life has become unbearable to me by reason of the constant pain all over my body. Do, for pity's sake, offer me up as a sacrifice to Sing Bonga." But the Lutkums would hear of no such thing. "Who will guard our house," they exclaimed, "who will support us now in our old age?" And the Toro Kora had much ado to persuade the old pair to give their consent. And, at length, by way of consoling them for their prospective loss, he made an important revelation to them. "I will establish the Pahan's† son under a tree in the middle of the

* Some versions of the legend mention the Doisa Pargana and the Khukra Pargana in the district of Ranchi as the localities where the Asurs searched for a Munda child for the sacrifice. This, however, appears to be one of the subsequent embellishments with which later generations of Mundas sought to improve upon the original legend—"to adorn the tale," if not "to point a moral."

† The Pahan is the priest or sacrificer of the Mundas.

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village. And he shall offer up sacrifices for you, once at the *Bara** or Flower Feast, once at the Batauli† Festival, and once again at the Mage‡ Feast." And thus were the Lutkums consoled.

And now the Asurs led the Toro Kora towards their furnaces to offer him up as a sacrifice to appease Sing Bonga. The Toro Kora had already given directions as to the proper mode of the sacrifice. "Two virgins," he had said, "who will have fasted for three days and nights shall work the furnaces with bellows newly made of white goat skin and furnished with new bellow-handles and a new bellow-nozzle. By day and by night must the bellows be worked without any respite. And at the end of three days, let them sprinkle water on the furnaces with mango-twigs, and then put out the fire. And the water shall be carried on new earthen pitchers on head-cushions made of cotton thread." And all this was done just as the Toro Kora had directed.

At the end of three long days and nights, the huge fire was put out, and the furnace opened up. And now, lo! and behold! out cometh the erst-while Toro Kora effulgent as the morning sun, decked with gold and silver, and with a precious plate and a costly bowl in his hand. And the avaricious Asurs eagerly inquire: "Is there more of such treasures left in the furnace?" "Ah, yes, plenty and to spare," replies the now glorious boy, "you are many in number, and you will thus succeed in bringing out a lot of such things. Men alone and not women should go in for them. Leave not a single man behind, lest you should fall out among yourselves and rob each other. Inside there, you will find a golden vulture and a silver vulture hovering about under the roof of the furnace. Ransack them underneath their wings and in between their feathers where their treasures are hid." And now, when all the Asura-men have taken in the bait and entered the furnace, Sing Bonga orders the women to plaster up the furnace and kindle the fire and work the bellows. And right away the women work the bellows hard.

But, hark! What betokens that faint murmuring sound the women fancy issuing out of the furnace? Can those be the groans of their husbands, sons and brothers? The women start in fear and horror at the very idea. But, now, the confused inaudible sounds gradually develop into distinct howls. A cold shiver runs through the Asur women from head to foot. And the women now vehemently

* The Surhul feast.

† The Kadlet festival.

‡ The Mage Parab.

} These and other festivals of the Mundas will be described in a subsequent chapter.

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accuse Sing Bonga of having played them false. "Ah, no! affrighted ones," says he, "No harm to your men. Every one of them perchance has not yet had enough, and so they are all quarrelling over the division of the spoils. Work the bellows faster still." And faster still the women worked away.

But, horror of horrors! What is this, again? This horrid sight is enough to curdle weak woman's blood. And, forthwith "cold sweat in clammy drops their limbs o'erspread." Appalled at the sight of the stream of bloody liquid that now begins to ooze out through the air molten passage of the bellows and through the outlet for nobler dross the women wax still more clamorous in their accusations against the mysterious boy. "A murrain on thy eyes!" they exclaim "Dost not see how blood streams out of the furnace?" "Deluded women," replies Sing Bonga, "they are chewing *pan** and *kasali*,† and that is why they are spitting red saliva. Quick! Quick! Blow away, my girls, and ere long you will have cause to rejoice. And with misgivings at heart, the timid women obeyed. A little while later, Sing Bonga perceiving that his fell purpose has been accomplished, orders the furnace to be opened up. This done, what do the unhappy women discover? They stand aghast at the sight of the charred bones and ashes of their unfortunate husbands, sons and brothers. Long and piteously do the poor women weep. And they tear their hair and they beat their breast and curse the Toro Kora. "Alas! alas!" at length they cry out, "who could have suspected this of thee? Thou hast made us put our men to death with our own hands."

At this, Sing Bonga thunders out. "Well! well! Messenger after messenger I had sent to you. But you heeded them not. Will you henceforward obey me in all my behests?" "Yes, yes, we will," answer the Asur women all in one voice, "who else will support us now?" "Well have you spoken," says Sing Bonga, "I will now reveal to you the way in which you shall support yourselves. I will establish two soothsayers, the Patguru and his disciple Tura. They shall always appeal to you for guidance through half-husked rice grains and through lamp-light and through torch-light,‡ and you shall give them proper directions. Ever do you reveal to the *Patguru* and the *Tura chela* the hidden causes of human ills and the proper sacrifices requisite to avert them. Under a tree in the

* Betel leaves.

† Betel nuts.

‡ This is a reference to the various processes of divination in vogue among the soothsayers of the Mundas.

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middle of the village, shall henceforth dwell a Munda as sacrificer. And he shall be called the Pahan and shall make offerings to you."

Now, when Sing Bonga is ready to ascend to his seat in heaven, the Asur women will not let him go. Thereupon Sing Bonga seizes them by the hair and hurls them in different directions. Some are flung on high mountains, some on rocks, some in deep waters, some on *piris* or uplands, others again fall on wooded spots by the side of delightful springs, and yet others are assigned pleasant meadows and groves for their future abode. And in caves and woods, on hills and trees, on meadows and groves, in streams and springs, their disembodied spirits are to dwell for ever and ever as presiding deities. And thenceforward for the Munda every fountain and mountain, every rill and gill, has its Naiyad and its Dryad. To him there are sacred "Presences in Nature," invisible spirits everywhere. And this Pagan "suckled in a creed outworn," is, in his own way, in closer touch with Nature than many a votary of what we term "higher faiths."

Such is the origin of the minor deities—the *Bhuts*—of Munda Mythology—the *Marang Buru Bonga*, who presides over high mountains ; the *Buru Bonga* the presiding spirit of the smaller hills, the *Ikir Bonga* whose seat is in the deep waters, the *Nage Bonga* who resides in the uplands and in the ravines, the *Desauli Bonga* whose dwelling is in beautiful wood-lands, the *Chondor Ikir Bonga*, who haunts romantic wooded spots by the side of crystal springs, and the *Chandi Bonga* whose altar is in shady groves, in the open fields or on the heights.

These, however, are but the "lesser gods" of the Munda faith. Over this goodly band of spirits reigns supreme, the great Sing Bonga—the eternal Sun-God, "of heavenly powers, the first,"

"God of this beauteous world, whom earth and heaven,
Adore in concert and in concert love ;
Whose praise is hymn'd by the perpetual Seven
Bright wheeling minstrels of the courts above."

Sarat Chandra Roy

(*To be continued*)

SELECTIONS

MR. MORLEY'S SCHEME OF INDIAN REFORM

INDIAN REPRESENTATION

The scheme by which Mr. Morley proposes that the natives of India shall take a large share in the government of that country has been published in the form of a White Paper, which contains a circular dated "Simla, 24th August, 1907" from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to local Governments and Administrations. The subjects dealt with are the establishment of an Imperial Advisory Council and of Provincial Advisory Councils in India, the enlargement of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and the discussions of the Budget in the latter. In March last the Viceroy announced that the Government of India had of their own initiative taken into consideration the question of giving the people of India wider opportunities of expressing their views on administrative matters. Local Governments and public opinion are to be consulted on this important matter. The circular draws attention to the extent of the advance that has taken place in the development of the educated classes, states that in twenty years the number of scholars studying English has risen from 298,000 to 505,000, and proceeds:

The Ruling Chiefs and the landholding and commercial classes possessing a material stake in the country and representing the most powerful and stable elements of Indian society, have now become qualified to take a more prominent part in public life, and to render a larger measure of assistance to the Executive Government. They no longer stand aloof from the new social and political conditions which affect the course of Indian affairs; they have profited greatly by the educational advantages offered to them under British rule; and they are anxious to be afforded an opportunity of expressing their views on matters of practical administration. No scheme of constitutional reform would meet the real requirements of the present time which did not make adequate provision for representing the landed aristocracy of India, the mercantile and industrial classes, and the great body of moderate men who, under existing conditions, have no sufficient inducement to enter political life, and find but little scope for the exercise of their legitimate influence.

MR. MORLEY'S SCHEME OF INDIAN REFORM

IMPERIAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

It is proposed to establish, for purely consultative purposes, an Imperial Advisory Council. These advisers would be consulted individually by the Governor-General, and would be occasionally called together, either in whole or in part, for the purpose of collective deliberation, and would be entitled, when so summoned to offer their counsel on matters affecting the welfare of the people. In the opinion of the Government of India this would be "a marked step in constitutional progress." The Council would also be an agency for the diffusion of correct information upon the acts, intentions, and objects of the Government. The circular contains the following proposals:

That a Council, to be called "The Imperial Advisory Council" should be formed for purely consultative purposes.

That all the members should be appointed by the Viceroy and should receive the title of "Imperial Councillors."

That the Council should consist of about sixty members for the whole of India, including about twenty Ruling Chiefs, and a suitable number of the territorial magnates of every province where landholders of sufficient dignity and status are to be found.

That the members should hold office for a substantial term, say five years, and should be eligible for reappointment.

That the Council should receive no legislative recognition and should not be vested with formal powers of any sort.

That its functions should be purely advisory, and that it should deal only with such matters as might be specifically referred to it from time to time.

That the proceedings of the Council when called together for collective consultation should, as a rule, be private, informal, and confidential, and they would not be published, although Government would be at liberty to make any use of them that it thought proper.

The Government of India believe that only confidential communications will secure frank interchange of opinion, but they are disposed to think that it might be advisable, after matters had been threshed out in confidential consultation, to provide for some public conferences at any rate on those occasions when the Government desires to make its motives and intentions better known, to correct mis-statements, and to remove erroneous impressions.

PROVINCIAL ADVISORY COUNCILS

Provincial Advisory Councils are suggested for the assistance of the various Provincial Governments, and it is thought that the

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Provincial members of the Imperial Council, representing the great landholders of the province, might form the nucleus of a Provincial Advisory Council, which would discharge in respect of provincial questions consultative functions similar to those entrusted to the members of the Imperial Council. The Provincial Councils would be of smaller size than the Imperial Council, but their membership should be larger enough to embrace all interests of sufficient importance to claim representation on such a body."

ENLARGEMENT OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

Dealing with the Legislative Councils of India the prominence which the elective system has given to the legal profession is referred to, and the Government of India states that the best way of making the Councils more representative is to create an additional electorate recruited from the landed and moneyed classes. They suggest that the Governor-General's Legislative Council might in future be constituted as follows:

(1) The maximum strength of the Council might be 53, or including the Viceroy, 54.

(2) this number might be made up thus :

| | | |
|-------|---|----|
| A. | Ex-officio, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (or of the Punjab when the Council assembles in Simla), the Commander-in-Chief, and the members of Executive Council... | 8 |
| B. | Additional officials to be nominated, not exceeding | 20 |
| C. | A Ruling Chief to be nominated by the Viceroy | 1 |
| D. | Elected members— | |
| (a) | By the Chambers of Calcutta and Bombay | 2 |
| (b) | By the non-official members of the Provincial Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma | 7 |
| (c) | By the nobles and the great landowners of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces | 7 |
| (d) | By Mohammedans | 2 |
| E. | Non-officials nominated by the Viceroy to represent minorities or special interests, not less than two to be Mohammedans | 4 |
| F. | Experts to be nominated by the Viceroy, when necessary, for special purposes | 2 |
| Total | | 53 |

or, including his Excellency the Viceroy 54

MR. MORLEY'S SCHEME OF INDIAN REFORM

For the purpose of giving adequate representation to the great landholders, the precise details of the electorate, the circular says, will require careful consideration.

The general idea that a provincial electorate varying in size from one hundred to one hundred and fifty should be aimed at, and that the amount of land revenue giving the right to vote should not be less than Rs. 10,000 a year.

The representation of the Mohammedan community also calls for consideration. The following observations are made in the circular under this head :

Firstly, in addition to the small number of Mohammedans who may be able to secure election in the ordinary manner, it seems desirable in each of the Councils to assign a certain number of seats to be filled exclusively by Mohammedans. Secondly, for the purpose of filling the latter, or a proportion of them, a special Mohammedan electorate might be constituted consisting of the following classes :

(1) All who pay land revenue in excess of a certain amount. The figure need not be the same in each province ; but should in all cases be sufficiently low to embrace the great body of substantial landholders.

(2) All payers of income tax. This would comprise the trading and professional classes with incomes exceeding Rs. 1,000 a year.

(3) All registered graduates of an Indian University of more than, say, five years standing.

The electoral lists would be prepared on a district basis, and the distribution of seats would be settled by the local Governments. It would not be necessary, however, to throw open all the seats to election. Indian gentlemen of position sometimes refuse to offer themselves as candidates to a wide electorate, partly because they dislike canvassing and partly by reason of their reluctance to risk the indignity of being defeated by a rival candidate of inferior social status. For these reasons it would probably be advisable to reserve a proportion of the seats to be filled, as at present, by nomination.

It is suggested that of the four seats which the Government of India have proposed to set apart for Mohammedans two should be filled by nomination by the Viceroy. For the other two election by the following provinces in rotation, namely, Bengal, Eastern Bengal, and Assam, the United Provinces, Punjab, Bombay, and Madras is suggested. In Burma and the Central Provinces the proportion of Mohammedans is not large enough to entitle them to special representation.

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As the Constitutions of the Provincial Councils must largely depend upon the Municipal and Local Boards, it is suggested that local Governments should introduce into their systems of election and nomination for these Boards the principle of assigning a fixed proportion of seats to each of the leading classes into which the population is divided by race, caste, or religion, and permitting the members of that class to select its own representative.

DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The concluding portion of the circular is devoted to the question of the discussion of the Budget in the Legislative Council.

The following observations are made:

The Government of India entirely recognise the defects of the practice which prevails under the existing regulations, and they are anxious to introduce such changes as will make the debates less and will bring them into closer relation with the financial policy and administrative decisions of the Government. To this end they propose that the Budget should be discussed, in the first instance, by separate heads, or groups of heads, which would be explained severally by the member in administrative charge, this discussion being followed by a general debate in which members would enjoy the same freedom as at present of criticising the Administration. This change would evidently involve an extension of the time now allotted to the discussion, and it would afford a far better opportunity for systematic criticism than exists under present arrangements.

These are provisional and tentative proposals, and the Government of India asks that a reply to the circular may be received not later than March 1, 1908.

INDIA AND CEYLON

The subjects of this address* is the relation between India and Ceylon, *i. e.* not so much the economic and political relations, which are at present beyond our control, but rather the mental and spiritual relation. Is Ceylon in the future to belong in these respects to India or to Europe? Is India to be our motherland still or shall we prosper mere as orphans? That is the question which is urgent to-day in Ceylon, and upon the answer to it depends every aspect of the future worth considering.

It is not a question of whether or not to accept this or the other

* Presidential address to the Ceylon Social Reform Society—April, 1907.

mechanical aid to comfortable living produced amongst other nations, not a question of whether to preserve or destroy the caste system or the purdah, not a question merely of diet or dress, but a question of mental attitude and bent of mind. That changes are absolutely necessary if the East is to regain efficiency under the altered conditions of to-day and to-morrow is certain. Evidently past greatness is no guarantee even of future mediocrity. Our social institutions have decayed ; neither wealth nor power remains in the hands of those who once possessed them; arts, industries and science are at the lowest level. We are no longer producers either commercially or mentally, but mere consumers : it is evident that such a position, cannot be indefinitely maintained, and is, at the best, an unworthy one. Change, and fundamental change, is needed ; some change has already taken place : if the result has hitherto been disappointing, is it because we have not yet learnt the real lessons which the foreigner has to teach us ? or is it because we have surrendered ourselves too unreservedly and have run too much after some new thing ? There is truth in both points of view. So far as we have retained the past, with its mixture of good and bad, it has been prejudice that has led us to do so ; so far as we have accepted the new, with *its* mixture of good and bad, it has been partly hypnotism, partly, I fear, snobbishness that has been at work. Evidently such ruling ideas are not likely to contribute to a preservation of what is best in the old life or an acceptance of what is best in the new. We return to the position that the question is not one of detail, but of mental attitude.

Do we really believe that we have the elements of greatness in us and can do in the future work as good as we have done in the past ? Whatever we believe of ourselves, we already are potentially ; if we really believe that we have just emerged from centuries of barbarism and darkness into civilization and light, we shall occupy the position which belongs only to races that have actually no past, and which, in so far as they do not accept modern conditions, are doomed to physical extinction or mental insignificance. But if we realize that India in the past has been the chief factor in the growth of civilization and culture, and that in that work even Ceylon has played no insignificant part, we shall also realise that the East contains within itself all the elements of self-recovery. There has been no aspect of life or culture in which India has not at one time or another excelled, and in many directions she has established positions which must remain for ever unshakeable. There is no reform needed to-day that has not been realised to a greater or

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less extent in some part of India or at some period in her history, or which has not been preached by Indians before even the modern West was known to her. Even from the varied elements composing the life of India to-day could be built up the structure of an ideal life. Bengal, the Punjab, and the South have each its peculiar virtue: the Sikh, the Mohammedan and the orthodox Hindu have lessons for us. There are parts of India where there is no purdah, races whose children do not marry in early childhood, places where indigenous manufactures still flourish, where great architecture is still understood, where real music can still be heard; there are still seats of oriental learning and literary activity; there are conservative people who preserve old customs, and bold experimenters who have made radical changes and adopted many new customs; there are practical business men and others whose only concern is with metaphysical speculation—India even to-day is an open book for us to study. And the reason why we should study it even more closely than the open book of Europe is this, that our very own difficulties and doubts exist for India as they do for us, and they will be solved ultimately in the Indian way; for whatever we do, we may be sure that India herself will not permanently be beguiled, but will strike out her own path afresh and fulfil her own destiny. India will be true to herself; but more than that, if we trust her, India will be true to us.

It may be true, probably is true, that the shock of Western influence was needed to waken India to herself, and that foreign rule is now for the second time helping the people of India to realise their geographical and historical unity. But these external impulses are but the touch upon the trigger, the reaction must come from India herself. Questions innumerable claim immediate solution; we must either solve them in our own way, or they will be to all intents and purposes unsolved. The acceptance of ready-made solutions, adapted to other conditions as they are, spells mental slavery and commercial subjection. If the ideal of civilization is not the domination of one race by another, but the existence of independent nationalities, with in each case special functions and duties, we must justify our right to live by doing something more than wearing English clothes and reading Shakespeare and Milton. That is to say, we must preserve the Indian mental attitude and not endeavour to acquire the European. Now it is my chief aim herein to emphasize the fact that this is not merely a privilege, but a duty. India's contribution to civilization in the past does not and can never justify her in thinking that her

work is done. There is yet work for her to do which, if not done by her, will remain for ever undone. In the organization of the whole art of life under changed conditions, India must act and think for herself—and in so doing, for us, if we will but join hands with her now.

In social organization, in music, art and literature, it remains for India to express, with the added power of modern knowledge, all that her best and noblest have dreamed of in the past. No others can do this work for her ; but it is work in which we have a right to share, for as we are but a part of India's past, so have we a right to be a part of India's future. And to take our share in this work is a binding duty which we cannot honourably evade. It is nothing to the point that the work of others seems to us more brilliant and more attractive ; it is enough that it is not the work we are called upon to do—*sreyan swadharmaṃ vigrahaḥ para-dharma-matswanuśīlitaḥ*—better is one's own duty, though insignificant, than even the well-executed duty of another. The shame of hospitality refused is ours ; many have come to our mother's house with reverence for her past, willing to learn from her now, but have been sent empty away. There is not in India to-day that which the world has a right to expect from a great people. The student of social economy finds a highly organized society in the process of disintegration, without any of the serious and consistent constructive effort required for reorganization under changed conditions ; the student of architecture finds indeed a great past, but in the present merely the copy of the copy of a style that belonged to the people of a European State two thousand years ago, and, as far as domestic architecture is concerned, merely an echo of London villadom ; the student of fine art finds no new interpretation of nature seen through other eyes, but only tasteless copies of the second-rate work of his own country ; the decorative artist sees only the worst features of the early Victorian period of English art intensified and perpetuated ; the musician is hardly aware that anything better than the gramophone and the harmonium exists in the land ; the religious man finds the chief shrines dedicated to the great god of 'getting on' ; the lover of freedom sees a people who can be imprisoned for indefinite periods without trial ; in short every man who seeks to widen his own outlook finds only his own face distorted in the mirror of modern India. The stranger has asked for bread, and we have given him a stone. Therefore I say we have failed in hospitality and duty.

I here digress to notice an objection sometimes made to the

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ideal of nationality, viz. that it involves an accentuation of the differences between men, and so hinders a realization of the brotherhood and unity of humanity. This objection is at once so subtle and so commonplace as to be hard of answering. The difficulty only arises when it is forgotten that nationalism implies internationalism. It is a case of 'live and let live.' Nationalism is essentially *altruistic*—it is a people's recognition of its own special function and place in the civilized world; internationalism is the recognition of the rights of others to *their* self-development, and of the incompleteness of the civilized world if *their* special culture-contribution is missing. A nationalism which does not recognize these rights and duties of others, but attempts to aggrandize itself at their expense, becomes no longer nationalism, but a disease, generally called Imperialism.

A further suggestion of the true answer to the objection may be given thus—Does a mother love a son less because he is less like herself than a daughter? Or does a man love a woman less because of her difference from himself? Of course not. The truth is that what we seek in others is not our own reflection in a mirror, but another, and to some extent complementary, range of qualities. So long as we *demand likeness* there is no room for *sympathy*. It is then a duty to offer to each other the fullest expression of ourselves to others and earn their love.

At present it is difficult for a foreigner in India to respect a people whose modern representatives can contribute little to his mental outlook, and can extend but very slightly the range of his experience; and without respect, how can there be brotherhood? Therefore a realisation of the ideals of nationalism and internationalism is essential for India and Ceylon if it be *brotherhood* that we desire to promote. Some realisation of these facts is taking place in India to-day, stirring of the dry bones is heard. Nor is this an isolated phenomenon: nationalities in other parts of the world are awakening to a sense both of rights and responsibilities. But the most remarkable and significant of these awakenings to national self-consciousness of modern times will have taken place when the peoples of India awake to a full recognition of the fundamental unity that binds them together more firmly than any superficial diversities can ultimately separate them. To the student of history, literature, or art, this unity appears more clearly marked than that which binds together the different parts of Europe. The wars between European States have been the wars of one nation upon another; the wars of India have been either petty civil wars,

or wars of invasion from without. Each successive wave of invasion, until the last, has broken in the north and spent itself as it passed onwards to the south. Each group of invaders has settled in the country and has become a part of India. All have become Indians. Only in the case of Mohammedans the process is hardly complete, and in the case of the English has not begun and will probably not take place. Each successive group of invaders has made some addition to the mental world of India, some contribution to her art or her philosophy, contributions fulfilling the completeness and versatility of the Indian outlook upon life. "Every province within the vast boundaries fulfils some necessary part in the completion of a nationality. No one place repeats the specialised functions of another." Especially does this apply to Ceylon. India without Ceylon is incomplete. Ceylon is unique as the home of Pali literature and Southern Buddhism, and as possessing a continuous chronicle invaluable as a check upon the uncertain data of Indian history. Ceylon is a more perfect window, through which to gaze on India's past, than can be found in India itself. Not only are its art and literature and religion free from Mohammedan influence, but they are merely influenced and not completely dominated by later Hindu conceptions, and actually preserve and reflect something of Hindu and Buddhist culture, as it existed in that period of mental activity when Asoka just grasped the idea of Indian unity and of fraternity amongst its component parts, by sending friendly missions far and wide throughout its borders. For very many centuries the relations between South India and Ceylon resembled those between England and France in the early middle ages—alternate warfare and close alliance. The nobler of the two great Indian epics unites India with Ceylon in the mind of every Indian, and Sita is known from the remotest north of India to the extreme south, and there in Ceylon her name is given to many places where she is thought to have rested in her exile. In later times the histories of Northern India and Ceylon were linked by Vijaya's emigration and then by Asoka's missions, and later still Padmavati became a Rajput bride, and perished by fire like many another Rajput lady when death or dishonour was the only choice; and to this day her name is on the lips of the peoples of Northern India as the very flower and crown of all beauty, even as Deirdre's is in Ireland still.

Not only, then, is Ceylon bound to India by every mental and spiritual tie, but there is no part of herself which India can so ill afford to lose. Surely it is our duty to identify ourselves with the

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mental and spiritual development of the motherland in the future too.

So far I have laid emphasis on nationalism as a duty binding upon us in two ways—a duty to the world at large, and a duty to India. It is a duty to ourselves too. Intellectual considerations alone should suffice to determine our attitude towards the question propounded at the beginning of this address. But a consideration from the merely economic point of view will lead to the same result. In the first place, it is difficult to see how a people, so rooted in the Indian past that there is scarcely an element in their life that is comprehensible without some understanding of India, can profitably cut themselves adrift from that mental atmosphere and progress under influences indifferent to or actively hostile to the past. As well expect the severed branches of the vine to bear fruit, or a water-loving plant to grow in sandy soil. So surely as an entirely foreign system of education and an alien culture are forced upon us, and as long as we keep up the present barrier between our present and our past, so long will more or less of mental sterilisation and loss of originality result. The only way of progress is to develop the people's intelligence through the medium of their own national culture. European culture, when it replaces, instead of supplementing Eastern culture, does not develop the people's intelligence but the very contrary. (Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy in the *Ceylon National Review*)

NANA SAHIB

The blackest chapter in all the dark story of the Indian Mutiny opened at a moment when, in the opinion of the Viceroy, the worst was over. Towards the end of May he wrote : " A very few days will now see an end of this daring mutiny," and almost at the same moment a Commandant of doomed Cawnpore, General Sir Hugh Wheeler, was telegraphing that " the plague " was stayed, and that all was well in that city. Briefly stated, the chief events that had taken place since the fall of Delhi had been the arrival in Calcutta of Colonel James Neill, and his advance up the Ganges Valley upon the seat of rebellion.

It is difficult to give a true picture of this man, one of the half-dozen very strong and, on the whole, somewhat similar men whose personalities saved India in the day of trouble. Of all of them the same first quality is true—willingness at any moment to assume full

responsibility for actions from which lesser men would have shrunk out of fear either of the censure of their superior officers or of the storm of public opinion, or out of respect to certain deep-seated traditional humanities which will always handicap Englishmen in dealing strongly with Orientals, who misunderstand leniency. Neill, the most religious of men, made no mistake. No theologian himself, he grasped the one ethical truth upon which theologians of all schools have tardily agreed, that a thing is good not because it is commanded by God, but is commanded by God because it is good. Once set moving upon a just and righteous enterprise, he believed from the bottom of his soul that the Divine authority prompted, and the Divine hand almost visibly supported, whatever action his resolute and clear brain dictated to him.

On June 3 Neill arrived in Benares, after a characteristic display of determination at Calcutta railway station, where he placed the station-master under arrest for trying to despatch an all-important train at its advertised hour without waiting for the arrival of Neill's contingent. The general made no mistake as to the relative importance of railway time-tables and the need of crushing the rebellion, and secured his point in the only possible way. At Benares he coolly deposed his irresolute chief, disarmed the native troops, and began that long and unrelenting punishment of rebels with which the almost fanatically religious Neill's name is still chiefly, but most unjustly, associated. Afterwards he pushed on to Allahabad, and recovered the city from the mutineers, but before this work was done the tragedy of Cawnpore had begun.

Before proceeding, it is necessary that some clear notion should be entertained of Nana Sahib's real or imaginary right and position at this time. He has so universally been execrated for his foul atrocities that in the minds probably of a majority of Englishmen the actions of the mutineers have been identified with his name and it is worth while to obtain a brief but clear view of his personality and policy. Nana Sahib was Dhandu Pant, the younger son of a brother-in-law of Baji Rao, the dethroned Peshwa of Poona, and therefore the representative of the Maharatta claim to the Empire of India. Nana was adopted by his uncle, and, in spite of the distinct statements to the contrary of the Indian Government, continued to hope that after his adopted father's death his generous pension of £80,000 a year would be allowed to him also. Meanwhile, he went with Baji Rao to reside at Bithur, a small town thirteen miles from Cawnpore, and a place of pilgrimage, regarded as of especial potency in securing for injured men both revenge and compensation. But,

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unavenged, the ex-Peshwa died in 1851, and Nana Sahib soon discovered that the pension died with him. Succeeding to Baji Rao's hoards—which have been variously estimated at two or four millions sterling—he was enormously rich, but the injury rankled in his breast, and, biding his time, he turned over in his mind the scheme of revenge which at least in the case of Cawnpore, he was to carry out with such merciless ferocity. Meanwhile, he went out of his way to make friends with the English officers at Cawnpore, frequently accepting their hospitality. He seemed to take pride in the presence of English ladies, and often attempted to make them accept costly presents of jewellery or silk, accepting the traditional and inevitable refusal with apparent regret. With the officers he was on pleasant terms; both as a sportsman and a *bon viveur* he was always welcome in the English lines, and it is certain that not a soul in Cawnpore suspected the truth. In fact, the news of the outbreak at Delhi and Meerut was received in Cawnpore with the less anxiety because of the powerful assistance which their friendly neighbour could at any moment extend to the white garrison in the town. General Wheeler carried this credulity to the pitch of handing over the treasury to be guarded by Nana Sahib's men, and only refrained at the last moment from sending out the women and children to live under his protection at Bithur! But on May 23, Wheeler became very nervous. He was an old man, with a fine record, and he was under delusion as to the loyalty of the rank-and-file of the troops under him. He acted, but he made an amazing mistake at the very outset, a mistake for which no conceivable explanation has been forthcoming.

Cawnpore was in 1857 a low-lying town upon a sandy waste, about a mile away from the Ganges. Between the town and the river was the European quarter, and three miles up-stream was the capacious magazine, with walls impregnable to mutineer artillery, ample provisions, good water, and an inexhaustible stock of cannon, muskets, and ammunition. It was such a place as could have held out a year, even if India had been swept by the mutineers from Peshawar to Calcutta. Lest he should disturb—this excuse is the only one that has ever been put forward—the serenity of the few native soldiers which guarded the magazine, Wheeler, instead of occupying this place, caused some pitiful dykes to be made out in the open plain to the south-east of the town, and behind breast-works that a foxhunter would clear almost in his horse's stride, the wretched man nightly placed the white women and children of the town until the actual outbreak of the mutiny drove into

this silly compound, for its obviously impossible defence, every available white man. Up to that moment the officers still slept in the regimental lines to avoid the least appearance of mistrust. Mr. Fitchett's fine estimate of this heroism is worth quoting :

" To lead a forlorn hope up the broken slope of a breach, or to stand in infantry square, while, with thunder of galloping hoofs, a dozen squadrons of cavalry charge fiercely down, needs courage. But it was a finer strain of courage still which made a British officer to leave his wife and children to sleep behind the guns standing loaded with grape, to protect them from a rush of mutineers, while he himself walked calmly down to sleep—or, at least, to feign sleep—within the very lines of the mutineers themselves ! "

Mutiny broke out at midnight on June 4. The Treasury was captured by the 2nd Native Cavalry, and this first act of overt rebellion was as a spark to tinder. As always happened, the gaol was the first place in the city itself to be broken into, and the riff-raff of Cawnpore was let loose to revenge itself upon the white population of the town, while the one regiment of the native infantry, with some show of discipline, refrained from easy loot to make their position safe. The magazine was at once surrendered, and the morning of June 5 saw half the native troops in a position of open and almost secure rebellion. The remainder were for an hour or two undecided. The accidental discharge of a gun into the regiment whose loyalty might conceivably have been retained decided the matter. With the exception of eighty faithful men who remained to help in the defence of Wheeler's foolish trenches, the whole of the remaining native soldiers set off into Cawnpore, shouting, " To Delhi ! To Delhi ! " every step of their wild rush adding to their excitement and desperation. Brutality is close akin to recklessness. Next day they realised what they had done. They had burnt their boats, and cared little whither their new patriotism was to lead them. Only was it necessary at the moment to wipe out the last remaining white man or woman in Cawnpore who might some day bear witness against them. So, for all that day, men women, and children alike were hunted down in the open, or ferreted out from their hiding holes, and under the blazing sun the ruts in Cawnpore were brown and stiff with English blood.

Meanwhile Nana Sahib came out in his true colours. The first action of the mutineers on the morning of the 5th was to offer to him, at Bithur, the doubtful crown of Oude, an honour which they pressed upon him by offering him death as an alternative. They little knew Nana. At once he accepted the position of leader, and

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at once he realised also that if any good was to come to him from the revolution he must carefully dissociate himself from the more or less legitimate claimant to the Imperial Crown of Delhi. He was, however, told to swear upon their heads that he would at once lead the troops to Delhi. By all he held sacred he swore it. Half an hour later, while the mutineers' deputation was riding home to Cawnpore to tell their comrades of their expedition, Nana Sahib and Azimullah Khan were closeted together, determined at all costs to prevent this march to Delhi. What right had a Mohammedan to king it over the representative of the Maharatts and a Konkanasta Brahmin? The heir of the Peshwa determined to play for his own hand, and Nana, on the night of the 5th, rode out after the mutineers, caught them up at Kalianpore, and harangued them in a speech which must have been a triumph of sophisticated argument and unscrupulous appeal to everything that is worst in humanity. It was successful. Blood and gold recalled the rebels' steps to Cawnpore, and early next morning Nana Sahib, with a curious touch of formality, sent in a letter to Wheeler, behind his mud fences, announcing his intention to make an immediate assault. At ten in the morning of the 6th, artillery fire from a position to the north-west opened the siege, a siege which for unrelieved horror and pitiless misery has had no parallel in the history of war.

Day after day, night after night, the unequal struggle was kept up. Only four hundred white men mustered at the first parade for the defence of this frail rectangle, and two unfinished barracks lying to the west of it. There was no cover, except such as might be had by digging pits in the solid earth. Women and children filled the hospital in the centre of the entrenchment, but there was little shelter to be obtained within its thin, short-riddled walls. Day after day a steady rain of rifle balls and shells swept horizontally across the little space over which the English flag still flew, and a plunging fire from mortars reduced even the scanty zone within which some safety still seemed possible. In the first week every man conversant with the handling of a gun had been killed or totally disabled, yet the small field-pieces which had been mounted in the entrenchments were served indefatigably by haggard volunteers till they, too, fell in turn under the enemy's never-ceasing fire. All alike suffered—women and wounded and children; the sweating gunner and the "brain that could think for the rest," all fell, mown down by the pitiless storm that screamed from sunrise to sunrise upon the pitiful little defence of "Wheeler's Folly." The dull monotony of misery broken only by some incident of yet more

poignant horror still—the burning of one of the poor buildings that the English still held outside the entrenchment, the disabling from time to time of the little field-pieces upon which alone they could rely to keep down the horrible and merciless cannonade of Nana Sahib's guns. Direct assault the rebels were loth to try. At last, after a week, some half-hearted attempt was made, but was defeated with enormous loss to the attacking party, and Nana fell back again upon his bombardment, knowing well enough that hunger and thirst, disease, sunstroke, and misery would work for him inside entrenchment better than any efforts of his disheartened soldiery. Again and again a sortie was made by the little band of defenders. Gallantry at Cawnpore did all that gallantry could achieve. But there is no fighting against overwhelming numbers and superior equipment when thirst and disease are ever at the elbow. That this senseless entrenchment was held for three days remains a marvel to any military officer who has visited the spot. That it should have been held for nearly three weeks gives the key to our ultimate victory over the mutineers.

Worn out, enfeebled by disease, over-matched, twenty to one, reduced to a mere handful of scantily-armed defenders, the white man was still a source of nameless terror to the Sepoy. Slaughter the defenceless as they would, they could instil no fear in the hearts of those that were left. Pounded by shell, burnt out, starved out, sickened out, the last lonely Englishman in any post throughout India all these terrible months fought the game as a winner to the end. Probably the rebels never for an instant felt secure; never were really confident in the permanence of their new and bloody tyranny. Rumours kept coming up from the east, from the north. The revolution was already hemmed in within iron and advancing barriers. Names of strange devils in the form of Englishmen were bandied about over their camp-fires, and there has never been a tale of John Nicholson that lost in the telling. Men remembered with uneasiness stories of his stern thoroughness on the North-West frontier that curdled the blood of their listeners. The avengers were coming on relentlessly, and to disordered imaginations the rustle of the night wind in the trees was already the distant tramp of their horse-hoofs. Their leaders might say what they liked. These English were demons, not men like themselves, and they heard with a shudder of the terrible and impassive punishment which was sweeping like Neill's shadow up towards them along the Ganges Valley. And all the while the little band of English kept the flag flying. The rebels could not at first know the awful misery

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of the life within the entrenchment. When they heard of it from the eighty loyal Sepoys who were allowed to save themselves by flight the marvel became tenfold more incomprehensible. For the women held their own with the best, and bore in splendid silence the continuing slaughter and maiming of their men, their children, and themselves. Moreover, for every man killed within that charmed spot, they knew that six of their own had bitten the dust.

At last the disquietude of his followers reached Nana Sahib. He did not know that relief was far away, and that he could still rely upon starvation and disease to do his damnable work; besides, he feared Neill's name as he should have feared that of God. The work could not be finished by brute force; it must be finished in another way; so he laid his plans, and once again put on the mask of courtesy. How he succeeded must be told later. For the moment this chapter of the terrible story leaves the scanty garrison of the entrenchment holding out as firmly as ever. Half of the garrison were dead and buried; another quarter were seriously wounded and in hospital. Water was only to be had from the well at the risk of a man's life. Never a man but had his reddened bandage—hardly a woman. But dirty, starved, bedraggled, aged, the little band held out, and though refined and dainty English women went begrimed, barefoot, and half-clad after giving their stockings to the gunners for wads and their petticoats and chemises to the surgeons for lint, the English flag still hung in the hot, breathless noonday from the stick over the ruined hospital.*—*The Daily Telegraph*.

* The following letter from General Harris published in *The Cornhill* deals with the fate of Nana Saheb: I knew the Nana quite well, having been introduced to him at Cawnpore as far back as '51. After the Mutiny had broken out, I was ordered in November with a detachment of three companies, first to Byram Ghat and then to a ford on the Upper Gogra, called Chilari Ghat. A small party of Engineers, presently joined me, with orders to construct a bridge, and a regiment of Pioneers unarmed, with a lieutenant in command, to help. I commanded the whole. Now these Mesboes had never been enlisted by Government before; low caste men, all or almost all expert thieves, and treacherous. I had a guard of them always at the ford, and lived myself in a tent close by. Now this ford was only about thirty miles from the Terai, into which the rebel forces, with the Nana, had been driven. Very shortly I found that, through my native officers, I was thoroughly posted up in all the Nana's movements. There was, as you know, a lakh of rupees reward for him, dead or alive. Two of my subadars were always at me to allow them three or four days' leave to capture him. They kept me informed of his movements like a court circular. I always told them that I was on duty for a certain purpose, and it was impossible I could give any man leave. One Thursday, Ram Singh came to me begging me still more strongly than before, saying the Nana was getting much worse—he was as I knew suffering from fever and ague and had an enlarged spleen—and he told me that the Nana had his little finger cut off, and had burnt it as an offering to Kali, with a view of propitiating the goddess. Two days after this, Ram Singh and the other subadar came and said: "No one will get the reward now—he died and it was true, for I had known for some weeks all about his movements."

THE TODAS

The word 'Toda' originates from *Todavan* which means 'shepherd.' Some think the Todas are of Grecian origin ; others say their ancestors came to India with Alexander the Great, or Darius, and because of religious persecution sought safety in the Nilgiri Mountains. Again they have been thought to be of Jewish extraction, while it is the opinion of not a few that they are the pure aborigines of 'The Blue Mountains.' They themselves, though knowing very little of their origin, lay claim to the hills around, and declare that it is only by their kindness that people are allowed to live at all on the Nilgiris. It certainly is true that the Badages, another hill tribe, used formerly to pay the Todas annual tribute in the way of grain, etc., but this custom has now ceased. Originally several thousands in number, the Todas have dwindled steadily, and there are now only about 800 of them left.

A TRIBE OF DAIRYMEN

The Toda leads a pastoral life. Todas do not congregate in towns or villages, but each family lives separately in their 'Marts' or 'Homes.' There are a few of these 'Marts' round Ootacamund. In each of the 'Marts' is a building superior in size to the others and generally surrounded by a wall. Todas consider this building sacred, and will not allow Europeans to go near it, for inside is carried on all the process of their sacred dairy work, making butter, turning it into ghee, etc., and the entrance of any but a Toda would pollute the presiding deity. The hut of the Todas resembles the tilt of a wagon. The whole hut is about twelve feet in height. At one end is a little door two feet high, but there are no windows, nor ventilators. An enclosure forty yards in diameter, surrounded by a rude wall of stones, and situated a short distance from the huts, suffices as a pen for securing the herd of buffaloes during the night. In the morning the calves having been allowed to join the herd, two or three men who have undergone some sort of purification proceed naked to milk the cattle. The herd is then allowed to graze, while the milk is being converted into butter to be sent to the low country. The Toda never dreams of breeding poultry, pigs or animals of any description except his beloved buffalo. Even the cow, the sacred animal of the Hindus, is held in small esteem. A Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of H. H. the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas,



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generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic lantern. One chilly afternoon the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen an excellent picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of the tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added: "The Prince is extremely wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of 200 people!" "Yes, yes," said an old man wagging his head sagely, "but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The greater part of the day the buffaloes lie in muddy pools with their snouts above the surface. One meets hundreds feeding on a rich, coarse herbage more to their liking than fine grass. The buffalo is a friend to the little Toda boy, who tells him all his troubles nestling up to him the while, and as the boy grows to manhood the importance of looking after his buffaloes before everything else grows upon him. Todas migrate regularly as herbage for the cattle grows scanty. All the beauties of the surrounding country merely represent so much cattle food, fuel, and water to the Toda. He depends absolutely on his buffaloes, and is a thriftless, idle man, who will never, as long as he can help it, do more than he is obliged to do by force of circumstances. Occasionally one sees Todas begging for grain in the neighbouring villages. They never cover their heads, no matter what the weather may be. Both men and women allow their hair to grow seven or eight inches long. Their hair is jet black and very soft. Their eyes are full and speaking. They have beautiful aquiline noses, and fine white teeth. They are a cheerful and good-humoured people, but very lazy.

Some wear small earrings, and a silver chain round their neck. The women wear necklace of twisted hair, or black thread dotted with beads, or bunches of cowrie shells that hang down from the back of the neck between the shoulders. The men's dress consists of a short under-garment folded round the waist, fastened by a girdle; and of an upper one, a kind of mantle, or *chudder*, which covers the whole body, and occasionally the right arm. The folds of the mantle terminate with the left shoulder over which the bordered end is allowed to hang loosely. Both night and day this is their only clothing. The stature of the women is proportionate to that of the men, but their complexion is lighter, due, no doubt, to their being less exposed to the weather. Most of them have beautiful black tresses, which hang unrestrained and give them quite a wild appearance.

THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The women are rather free in demeanour, knowing nothing of the shyness of the low country woman—and they enter into conversation with strangers with perfect confidence and self-possession. Their upper garment or mantle resembles that of the men, but is worn differently. Reaching to the feet it envelopes the whole frame, giving them quite a mummy-like appearance. Neither they nor the men have any idea of cleanliness so that one knows—'T'odeur'—when a Toda is approaching. To par, add to it they have a disagreeable habit of smearing their locks with ghee and training them into ringlets. The women go lazily about their domestic duties while the men are out herding cattle. Those of the men who do not accompany the herd fetch water, carry firewood, or collect grain from Badaga villages.

When the herd returns home of an evening all the villagers pay homage by bringing up the right hand to the head, the thumb lying along the nose, the hands open and the fingers expanded—a sort of glorified *Salam*. The evening meal is then prepared and consists of milk, parched grain and butter. Salt until quite lately was not even known. The Todas have no luxuries and flesh meat is never touched. When the lamp is lighted the same obeisance is paid to this as to the herd and the family then retires to rest only to start the same routine next day.

Children run about naked. Girls never enter the temple but boys run in and out helping in the making of the butter. After the birth of a child it is kept out of sight until the father, unaccompanied by the mother, goes to the door of the sacred building. Here saluting the sanctuary the father first exposes the child to light, bringing it forth from the folds of his mantle and pressing its forehead down to the ground. Naming it he winds up with the prayer "Be beneficent, may it be well with the chickens, the people, cattle, calves, and everybody."

SOME QUAIN'T BELIEFS

It is difficult to say what the Todas really worship, as they will never talk on the subject. It appears that the sacred dairy is their holy tabernacle. It is divided into two compartments. In one is performed all dairy work, in the other an idol is kept. Each "mart" has its own idol. Todas greet the moon, and the rising and setting sun, with the one formula of prayer. To see a Toda, surrounded by his family, with his hand to his head, invoking the blessing of the "God of Light," on a moonlight night, is impressive. They have no belief in transmigration, so cannot possibly be, as some have

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supposed, a branch of the Brahmanical sect. On rising each morn the Toda salutes the rising sun. He will tell you that after death his soul goes to Amnor, a country where his ancestors rest, enjoying abundance of milk and butter.

Their language is coarse and guttural, resembling Canarese, more than Sanskrit, or Tamil. There is no written character, or visible symbol, by which they may communicate their thoughts. The language being purely oral it is difficult to become acquainted with it. Indeed quite as difficult as it would be to learn the language of the little wild African Bushmen ! Luckily most Todas speak a little Tamil, and, strange to relate, the men's voices are soft and mellow in this language ; the women's shrill and unpleasant !

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Polyandry is practised by the Todas, one woman being legally married to several men either brothers, or near relatives. The method of betrothal is rather quaint, the father or other male guardian of the bridegroom to-be negotiating with the father of the future bride as to the price of his daughter. Money being scarce in the jungle, so many buffaloes are given in exchange. When a bargain has been struck, formal consent is given to the marriage by the damsel's father placing his foot on his son-in-law's head. A dowry is then expected from the bridegroom. Throughout all, the bride-to-be has the power of rejecting her suitor. In fact Toda women hold a superior domestic position to that of Hindu women and do pretty well as they please, but this has been the outcome of the years ; for in olden days, Todas had the barbarous custom of infanticide, and many of the girls that were born were thrown before the wild buffaloes and trampled to death.

STRANGE FUNERAL RITES

Of all their customs, none is more interesting than the Toda funeral. They have two funerals ; the 'green' and the 'dry.' The first takes place immediately after death, all the family and friends of the deceased assist in carrying the corpse, clad in new garments, on a bier formed of green herbs which cleanse from sin. All chant and lament in chorus, until the cremating ground is reached, when small sacks of grain, butter, and milk are distributed. The funeral pyre is erected on tall pillars, and after the corpse has been reverently sprinkled with earth and saluted, it is put on the pyre. A near relative cuts a few locks of hair to reserve for the dry funeral, and the family proceeds to throw on grain and pour oil on the wood so that it may all the more easily ignite. The crowd now disperses quietly, and only a few are left to search afterwards among the ashes

for the skull which is carefully preserved and taken home wrapped up in a cloth to await the celebration of the "dry" funeral which takes place a year after the death of a Toda. Indeed so interesting is the dry funeral that many Europeans attend it. Exactly a year after the death of a Toda the women carry the skull and locks of the deceased to a plot of ground chosen for the occasion, singing solemn dirges the while. They then spread the mantle containing the skull carefully on the ground, and are then joined by many Todas who weep and lament for the deceased after saluting the skull. The men next proceed to join hands and dance round the relics to wild Kotar music and singing. This over, the strongest men proceed up the valley where the herd is grazing and select some of the finest buffaloes for sacrifice. With shouts of joyous exultation, much stampeding and clamour, the chosen buffaloes are driven wild with fright, into an enclosed arena, where a bell is attached to the neck of each. The dance is again proceeded with and followed by a repast of rice and 'ghee' doled out on leaves to the guests. The splendid bearing of the men, the wild-looking women with flowing locks, the dance, music, and wild buffalo fight is absolutely one of the most unique sights in the world. Many of the men try conclusions with the buffalo, and a wrestling match takes place. The buffaloes, panting from the unwonted excitement, are next addressed by the near relatives of the deceased as "divine animals," and their intercession beseeched that all Todas present may enjoy blessings for their wives, their children, and herds, as well as health and freedom from misfortune. The buffaloes are now brought up before the relics and blood from their nostrils sprinkled over the mantle. A couple of milkmen next proceed to slaughter the infuriated animals by striking each behind the horns with a wood-cutter's axe. Each buffalo, as it falls, is dragged forth, so that the mouth and nostrils may rest on the mantle containing the relics. The Todas then sit down and face to face mourn and lament, old and young, joining in a common cause.

—*The Pioneer.*

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Ranchi College

We are glad to learn that the Ranchi College modified scheme has been finally sanctioned by the Government of India. A strictly residential college in a healthy climate and away from the temptations and dangers of Calcutta having the advantage of easy communication with all parts of the country is indeed a great desideratum.—*C.U.M.*

Medical Training in Mysore

The Mysore Government are making arrangements for training youngmen as native doctors. The Indigenous Hospital for Mysore will be developed and the Ayurvedic classes attached to the Maharaja's Sanskrit College will be raised into a regular central college of Hindu Medicine, with classes for Anatomy and Surgery, and with a museum and ground for growing medicinal herbs.

An Indian Bank in Calcutta

So Bengal seems to be waking up to work. A Bank has just been organised in Calcutta by some Indian noblemen and merchants and registered with a capital of fifty lakhs of Rupees. As much of the success of all nascent *Swadeshi* enterprises would seem to depend for their very existence upon opportune advances and loans, the working of this Bank should be watched with the keenest interest this side of India.

Oxford & the Government of India

Oxford has almost had a monopoly of the Government of India in recent years. Of recent Secretaries of State, Mr. Morley, Mr. Brodrick and Lord Randolph Churchill were all Oxonians. And in the case of the Viceroy's the record is similar—Lord Curzon, Lord Elgin and Lord Lansdowne all owning Oxford as their University, and being Balliol men to boot. The present Viceroy is a Cambridge man as was also Lord Cross who was Secretary for India from 1886 to 1892.

The Profit on Coinage

Mr. Morley, as Secretary of State for India, has announced that in view of the amount of the gold standard reserve and the large stock of gold held by the Indian Government, it has been decided that in future only half of the profit on coinage will be added to the

gold reserve, and that the other half will be used to supplement the fund available for capital expenditure on Indian railways. This decision enables an addition of £1,000,000 to be made to the programme of capital expenditure for the current year, which expenditure will be devoted to improving the equipment of open lines.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Gahur Jan

It must have been in a fit of imprudence or in a moment of self-forgetfulness that Sir Pherozeshah Mehta decorated the person of a Calcutta professional songstress in the Bombay Town Hall. Sir Pherozeshah occupies a unique position in the public life of Bombay and is acknowledged as the leader of the most advanced and cultured section of the educated people in the Western Presidency. For Sir Mehta to have cast prudence to the winds in order to stick a medal on the person of Gahur Jan was not only an act of great impropriety but also constituted a great outrage upon public morality and decency. But most surprising of all is the silence and, in some cases, the qualified approval of some of the newspapers in Bombay. What are things coming to in the Western Presidency?

A Mahomedan Bank at Delhi

A New Bank, with a limited capital of ten lakhs, has been started at Delhi in Mahomedan interests. The provisional directorate consists of influential leaders of the community at Delhi, notably Nawab Mirza Akbar Ali Khan Sahib, *rais*, and Munshi Ibrahim Khan Sahib, *rais*, and others. The Managing Agent is Mirza Hairat Sahib, a well-known philanthropist and proprietor of the *Islamia Press* and *Curzon Gazette*. Two special funds will be created from the profits, one devoted to furthering the education of distinguished Mahomedan students, the other, a provident fund for Mahomedan widows and orphans. The bank will advance money on gold, silver and jewellery, apart from transacting ordinary banking business. The Bank shareholders are also interested in starting a large Paper Mill at Delhi, and are negotiating for the importation of English machinery and intend appointing experts.

The Plague In India

Dr. Francis Freemantle, late Plague Medical Officer in the Punjab, has addressed the following letter to the Editor of *The Times*: "Sir, 'For nine years,' says Lord Curzon, 'the Government of India have conducted an unrelenting campaign against the plague by every method, in fine, that science or experience could suggest.' As one of the officers employed in that campaign I venture

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to say that 'science' will repudiate the statement. We know the difficulties were immense and that the Indian Government did all that occurred to them to do. But, like all Governments, they failed to realize that the scientific method of preventing disease is founded on exact knowledge, obtainable only by research. No one knows how plague was spread. Did they from the first set apart a representative body of experts to give up their whole time to the investigation of this sole problem? The answer is *No*. It is only now that this has been done, on far too limited a scale, that as shown me by Captain Lisbon, I.M.S., in 1904, the rat-flea is being proved to play a chief part in spreading the disease. If this is corroborated by further research, a fresh campaign may be devised with considerable hope of success. The moral for all Departments of Government is the constant cry of 'science'—more research."

Royal Commission on Decentralisation in India

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the relations now existing, for financial and administrative purposes, between the Supreme Government and the various Provincial Governments in India, and between the Provincial Governments and the authorities subordinate to them; and to report whether, by measures of decentralisation or otherwise, those relations can be simplified and improved, and the system of Government better adapted to meet the requirements and promote the welfare of the different provinces and, without impairing its strength and unity, to bring the executive power into closer touch with local conditions. The Commission to be composed as follows: Chairman—Sir H. W. Primrose, K.C.B., C.S.I., I.S.O., Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue; Members—Sir F. S. P. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., lately Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, Sir S. W. Edgerley, K.C.V.O., C.I.E., Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, retired, Mr. W. S. Meyer, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Finance Branch, Mr. W. L. Hitchens lately Colonial Treasurer of the Transvaal. Secretary—Mr. H. Wheeler, Indian Civil Service.

A Private Letter on Indian Unrest.

In reference to the unrest in India, the following extract from a private letter written by an Anglo-Indian to an Englishman at home may be of interest. The writer says: "I hope N will not come out to India. It is a horrible country, and as it is now with all this unrest and sedition, not a fit place for Europeans

to live in. We don't know what is going to happen, but we all feel that something will happen before long. I think I told you in my last letter about the schoolboys here insulting K. The incident has appeared in all the native papers fearfully garbled of course. This district is all very much affected. Of course, not a quarter of what the Indian Government tells the Home Government leaks out, and people at home have no idea that their friends out here are just now living on the edge of a volcano which is showing signs of activity. In places like this the Europeans would have no chance in case of a general rising, he is one to thousands, who, as I saw in a paper yesterday, are all savages at heart. In all sorts of ways the natives are showing their feelings. It is a most common thing now for bottles, bricks and other missiles to be thrown at the first and second class carriages of passing trains, especially mail trains, and many people have been injured. They also aim at the engine driver or guard, if he is a European. Then, as you pass up a railway platform, they will spit at you, or throw pieces of food or water at you and in all sorts of ways they make a point now of showing their hatred of the white man."

'The Unrest in India'

Mr. Fraser Blair of the *Empire*, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, late of the *Statesman*, Mr. E. Digby of the *Indian Daily News* and four other Anglo-Indian journalists of Calcutta have sent the following letter to British Press on the mischief of exaggerated accounts on the 'Unrest in India':

"Sir, The undersigned constituting, with perhaps one exception, the entire body of purely British journalists in Bengal, connected with the editorial staffs of Calcutta newspapers and holding varying shades of political opinion, consider it desirable to enter an emphatic protest against the many alarmist and misleading accounts of the situation here which have been telegraphed to England during the past few weeks. Such accounts, representing the province of Eastern Bengal as being in a condition bordering upon open rebellion, insinuating that Europeans are in danger of their lives, and declaring that an emergency garrison of British troops is an urgent necessity, are merely ludicrous to people on the spot and would never be offered to newspaper readers in India, so far are they from the actual and demonstrable facts. That there is a certain amount of active disaffection among the people is undeniable; that there have been serious disorders in some parts of the province due to the stirring up of religious

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feeling between Hindus and Mahomedans is well known ; that the boycott of British goods initiated two years ago as a weapon against the partition of Bengal has been aggressively carried on in the towns and villages is perfectly true ; but nothing has yet occurred which in any way justifies the accounts to which we refer, and the situation is no more serious than the ordinary means at the disposal of the authorities are sufficient to control. Out of the mass of highly-coloured telegrams lately sent from India, we would cite as particularly reprehensible a lengthy message cabled by Reuter's Calcutta correspondent on July 3 and various messages despatched from Simla at the beginning of last month. Our complaint against these messages is twofold; first, that they contain specific statements which are seriously inaccurate; secondly, that taken together they present a violent and distorted picture of the situation. It would not be difficult to disprove the statements in detail ; but in order to do this we should trespass too far on your space while the details would be hardly intelligible to readers unacquainted with the affairs of India. We would, however, protest in the strongest terms against the attempt made by certain correspondents to identify outrages committed by train thieves with the happily subsiding political unrest. The recent murder of a Eurasian railway police inspector in a carriage on the Assam-Bengal Railway by thieves whom he was at the time shadowing, and the serious assault committed on an English officer by Pathans surprised in rifling his baggage, while travelling in the Punjab, have been deliberately associated by certain correspondents with the political unrest, and they have been represented as the outcome of seditious agitation on the part of Bengalee politicians. We cannot find terms strong enough to express our opinion of this gross and mishandling of facts. The astonishment which people here have felt in reading these telegrams could only be equalled by that which would be caused in an Englishman's mind if he had picked up a paper in America and read a telegram associating the art robbery in Park-lane with the agrarian unrest in Ireland. With the motives which have inspired these telegrams we have no concern. We merely wish to warn the public that alarmist messages emanating from such sources should be received with the greatest caution."

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

The Tata Iron Scheme

The great scheme which the late Mr. J. N. Tata had set his heart on during the last few years of his life is now an accomplished fact. After several years of careful consideration and calculation, the proposed Company has at last been floated with a capital of Rs. 25,000,000. The Directorate is entirely an Indian one and has strenuous work before it. Bombay has again staked its reputation upon a novel experiment, and there can be no doubt that it will come out of the test as successfully as it has done in the great industry of cotton.

Coal Production in 1906

The Indian Government have recently issued a report on the production of coal in India which shows that the total output from all Indian mines was for the twelve months (1906-07) 9,735,010 tons, of which the Bengal mines alone produced 8,617,820 tons. The total exports of Indian coal to ports out of India, not including bunker coal, were 940,054 tons. The total imports of foreign coal into India, exclusive of Government stores, were 256,973 tons. The consumption of all kinds of coal in India, including bunker coal, was 9,051,929 tons. The average price of best Bengal coal, free on rails at the mines, ranged from Rs. 3-6 annas in 1898 to Rs. 6 in 1907.

Manufacture of Sulphuric Acid

Under the auspices of the distinguished chemist, Dr. P. C. Ray, and with the assistance of Messrs Raj Sekhar Bose, Chandra Bhusan Bhaduri and Satis Chandra Das-Gupta, arrangements have been completed at the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, for manufacturing sulphuric acid, so largely used in different industries. This product will shortly be put on the market, and the manufacture of other valuable chemicals will also be taken in hand. There is a large field in this direction, as we annually import about 70 lakhs worth of chemicals excluding medical drugs, the most important being sulphuric acid, caustic soda, bicarbonate of soda, and soda of other sorts as well as alum and paper-making requisites, including bleaching materials.

Indian Jute Industries

Although the production of jute is restricted to a corner of north-east India, its consumption is world-wide, for almost everywhere jute fabrics are employed to cover raw produce of the most varying descriptions. It is computed that the cultivators received no less

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than £26,600,000 in payment for jute during 1906-7, and that of this sum £10,000,000 was profit. The area under the fibre was 3,523,000 acres, and the estimated outturn 31,733,000 cwt., of which rather more than a half was exported. The year opened with jute at Rs. 48. 3a. per bale of 400lb., and a *maximum* was reached with Rs. 72 in August, while the year closed at Rs. 60. 8a., the average for the whole year being Rs. 60. 4a. 4p., or 78.7 per cent. above the average of the previous five years. In 1906-7, jute, raw and manufactured, constituted a half of the export trade of Calcutta, and a fourth of the total exports of all India.

Indian Tariff

The *Statesman* has put forward a strong case for the readjustment of the Indian tariff by abolishing the customs duties on some articles which yield but a nominal revenue and for the establishment of the tariff on the basis of treaties with other countries. On the first head it says that the corpus of customs revenue comes from only a few articles, viz., cotton manufactures, petroleum, sugar, silk, woollen goods and alcoholic liquor. Most of the others yield such a trifling revenue that they scarcely justify the trouble and expense of the handling and appraisement of these goods. The loss of revenue that would result from the abolition of these duties being largely counterbalanced by the saving on the head of establishment would be trifling. On the second head the *Statesman* complains that India is not placed on the 'most favoured nation' footing with Italy by any treaty. The most regrettable thing about this is that the Government has lightly let go a golden opportunity for concluding a treaty with France which would make India a most favoured nation. But the *Statesman* assures us that there is yet time to do it, and the Government can do worse than turn their attention to the readjustment of tariffs before the next financial statement is out.

History of the Jute Industry

Those who are keenly interested in jute will find a great deal of valuable information on the development of the industry in the report on the maritime trade of Bengal for 1906-7. Jute was not separately mentioned in the Customs Returns until 1828-9, when 364 cwt. were shipped to the United Kingdom. Not until 1832 was it shown by an enterprising Dundee manufacturer that jute might be used as a substitute for hemp. From that date it has gained in favour, though shipments were not large for many years. In India itself the manufacture of jute fabrics by hand is an old industry, and 80 years ago jute cloth was even used as clothing by the poorer classes.

Its use for this purpose was checked by the importation of cheap cotton piece-goods. In the year before the Mutiny, 1856-7, jute goods made by hand-loom were exported to the extent of 55 lakhs of rupees. The first mill was established near Calcutta in 1857, and the numbers in the succeeding decades were 5, 12, 22, 30, and (1906) 37. The equipment of the mills means a large demand for machinery, iron, steel, &c., which is mainly met from the United Kingdom. In the 15 years to 1905-6 no less than £5,333,000 was expended on jute machinery. The Dundee mills are only about half those of the Calcutta mills in number, but they are adapted for a much wider range of cloth.

India Vs. Japanese Yarns

A writer in the *Indian Textile Journal* writes on the Bombay cotton-spinning industry and the competition of Japan, and his conclusion is that the Bombay people will have to set their house in order. Japan has become a most formidable competitor in the China market, and the progress that it has made has been accompanied by very large profits to the spinners. They are said to have had special advantages, such as cheap freights and the opportunity of sending their yarn duty free through Dalny and other places into Manchuria. But the preference given by the Chinese to Japanese yarn is said to rest mainly on its superiority. Many of the millowners in Bombay 'do not yet know the A. B. C. of good spinning,' the machinery is worked at a high cost, there is 'corrupt and inefficient management,' and various leakages, it is said, remain undetected. Japan has now the reputation of efficient management, though, doubtless, this is under conditions that would not be considered favourable in Lancashire. But if this Indian yarn is hardly good enough for China, it is surprising to hear that it 'has found a new market on the Continent and even in England.' This would be an unexpected development even at a time of yarn shortage.

Indian Coffee

The following particulars of the production of coffee in India in the year 1906 are taken from a return prepared in the office of the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence for India :— 'At the end of 1905 there were 210,688. acres of land under coffee, all, with the exception of 163 acres, in Southern India. The production of coffee is restricted for the most part to a limited area in the elevated region above the south-western coast, the coffee lands of Mysore, Coorg and the Madras districts of Malabar and Nilgiris comprising 86 per cent. of the whole area under the plant in India.

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About half of the whole coffee-producing area is in Mysore, where there were 101, 489 acres in 1906, while in Coorg there were 46,393, and in Nilgiris and Malabar about 32,500, acres. Some coffee is grown in other districts in Madras, principally in Madras, Salem and Coimbatore, and in Travancore and Cochin. It is grown also, but on a very restricted scale, in Burma, Assam and Bombay. The total estimated area shows a decrease in each year since 1896. On those estates for which reports are received from planters, the total area of new lands planted with coffee in the three years 1904, 1905 and 1906 is only 8,316 acres, while the total area of old cultivation abandoned is 29,880 acres, which represents a net decrease of 21,564 acres under coffee in the three years. It is noticeable that while the area has been steadily diminishing, the exports which account for the greater part of the crop rose steadily in the five years ending 1905-6, and were greater in that year than in any year since 1888. In 1906 however, unseasonable rains were reported from nearly all the principal coffee-growing districts, and the total quantity exported decreased by over one-third. The total exports in 1906-7 amounted to 25,546.528 lbs., as compared with an export of 40,340,384 lbs in 1905-6. The two chief markets for Indian coffee are the United Kingdom and France.

REVIEWS & NOTICES

INDIAN GEOLOGY DURING 1906

[*The Record of the Geological Survey of India, Vols. XXXIII and XXXIV*—Edited by MR. T. H. HOLLAND, F.R.S.]

The most prominent feature of the Indian Geological Survey during the year 1906 was the publication of two
Introduction volumes of Records showing an increasing activity of the department under its present Director. The administrative staff has also been considerably strengthened, but here one looks in vain for an Indian name; and we are afraid that with the retirement of Mr. P. N. Dutt, the Indian geologist will entirely disappear from the upper division of the Survey.

The general determination and nature of the chemical work done in the Museum and Laboratory of the Survey was
Museum and Laboratory practically the same as that of the last year, while some collections of the Museums at Nagpur and Lahore were also examined. No new meteorite is recorded to have fallen in India during the year and a considerable progress is also reported in the re-labelling of the economic mineral collections, while jurassic corals and echinoids of Cutch, the jurassic fossils of Baluchistan, the Triassic fossils of the Himalayas, the Permo-carboniferous fossils of Chitichun, the Cambrian fossils of the Salt Range and the Miocene and Palaeozoic fossils of Burma have been arranged in the Palæontological Gallery. Twenty-seven rare minerals have been obtained by exchange for the Museum and in the year under report 114 specimens of minerals and rocks, 5 metallurgical objects and 2 fossiliferous nodules were presented to H. R. H. Prince Edward of York.

Our knowledge of Indian fossils has been considerably increased during the year. Besides the publication of two
Palæontology volumes of *Palæontologia Indica*, a few contributions to the pages of the Records also deal with the palæontological data and the important bearings they have upon interpreting the facts of Indian Geology. The lower Palæozoic fossils from the Naungkangyi beds, the Nyaungbaw beds, the Namshim sandstones and the Zebingyi beds have been described.(1) Mr. Latouche correlated

(1) *Pal-Ind.*, New Series, Vol. II., Mem. No. 3.

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the Naungkangyi beds with the Ordovician. These beds are characterised by a number of Cystidea which are widely distributed, some bryozoa, a large number of brachiopods and 5 trilobites. It is undoubted that the Naungkangyi beds include a number of stages though the exact limitation and correlation of these beds are not possible at the present state of our knowledge. The fauna of the Sedaw and Palin limestones, however, suggest a strong resemblance with the Echinosphærite limestones of Scandinavia and Russia and may be relegated to the base of the Ordovician. An upper Ordovician age has been claimed for the Nyaungbaw beds but the fossil evidence is too fragmentary to give us any definite conclusion. The Namshim sandstones represent the Wenlock series of England and the correlation is based upon the discovery of many species of brachiopods common to both e.g., *Leptœna rhomboidalis*, *Orthis nistica*, *Atrypa reticularis*, *Pentamerus* of *galeatus*. The Zebingyo beds are characterised by the presence of graptolites (*Monograptus*), *Tentaculites*, *Orthoceras* and a few other forms including 2 species of *Phacops* and the correlation of these beds has been proved to be a little difficult and they have been provisionally referred to the Hercynian beds, intermediate between the Silurian and the Devonian. The study of the fossils of the Namshim and Zebingyi beds has brought out the important fact that they exhibit faunistic characters, which are north European and South European respectively. The fauna of the Tropites-Limestone of Byans(1) include 168 forms of which 155 are ammonites. The results that have been arrived at by a study of these points are very interesting. The fauna of the Tropites-Limestone show an intermixture of forms of Carmic and Noric stages. Elsewhere a distinct faunistic hiatus has been proved between these stages, and at first consideration the Byans beds might be looked upon as passage-beds. But a clear examination has demonstrated that the characters of the fossils do not corroborate this hypothesis, and this peculiar assemblage of fossil organisms has been explained on the assumption of absence of sedimentation thus accounting the formation of a bed of extremely fossiliferous limestone having a thickness of three feet only. Some Triassic fossils from the Halorites limestone of Kumaon(2) and from the Pishin district(3) have been described. A new species of *Nummulites* has been described from the Middle Khirthar beds of Sind. Twenty four species of *Nummulites* are known to occur in India and the oldest representa-

(1) Pal. Ind. Ser. XV, Vol V. Mem No. 1.

(2) Rec. G. S. I., Vol XXXIV. & 1. p.

(3) loc. cit. p. 12-21.

tive of them has been met with in the second topmost zone of upper Ranikot and the genus continues up to the Mekran beds and was most abundant in the middle Khirthar(1). Students of Indian geology are quite familiar with the late Dr. Blanford's classification of the Tertiary rocks in Sind(2). In this classification the *Cardita beaumonti* beds were looked upon as intermediate between cretaceous and eocene and the deposits from Ranikot to Manchhar were supposed to represent the whole of the Tertiary system beginning from the Lower Eocene to Pliocene following one another in a conformable succession.

It is now established that the *Cardita beaumonti* beds are mostly Maestrichtian to lower Danian, and that there is a very pronounced unconformity between these beds and the overlying Ranikot, thus proving the existence of a great hiatus between the top of the Cretaceous and the bottom of the Eocene. Dr. Blanford's classification has now been amended and the Tertiary beds are designated as Ranikot, Laki, Khirthar, Mekran or Pegu and Manchhar in an ascending order. There is a distinct unconformity at the base of each of these sub divisions. From an examination of the fossils in each of these beds it has been suggested that the base of the Oligocene beds should be the commencement of the Neogene beds and not their top, and all students of geology know that this generalisation has got more than local interest. Another paper in the Records deals with a new species of *Breynia*, *Breynia multituberculata*, from the Nari beds and a great resemblance between this species, the Gaj species, *B. Carinata* and the recent Indian species *B. Vredenburgi* is very interesting.(3) Some very old collections of fossils from the Axial group of Burmah have been examined and it is very probable that the Axial group includes organisms having at least a Triassic and a Tertiary facies.

Two important papers bearing on Indian petrology are contributed to the Records. The first paper deals with the petrology of Sansar Tashil in Chhindwara district, Central Provinces(4), and the second one deals with the lavas of the Pavagad hill in the Bombay Presidency.(5) In the Sansar Tashil the usual basalt of the Deccan trap has been met with as also the Lametas but the majority of the rocks belong to the metamorphic and crystalline series where besides the usual

(1) Rec. G. S. I., Vol XXXIV., p. 2.

(2) *Manual of Geology*, 2nd Edit., p. 302-3.

(3) Rec. G. S. I., Vol. xxxiv, pt. 4.

(4) Rec. G.S.I. Vol. xxxiii, pt. 3.

(5) Rec. G.S.I., Vol. xxxiv, pt. 3.

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members of the series, there are calciphyres, crystalline limestones, serpentinous limestones, and cipollinos. It is held that the crystalline limestones have been chemically changed from the quartz-pyroxene-gneisses or similar other rocks by the action of carbon-dioxide and that the calciphyres represent the stage intermediate between the gneisses and the crystalline limestones. The serpentinous crystalline limestones and cipollinos are supposed to be derived from a chemical change of the pyroxene, diopside, by the action of carbon dioxide with or without water, dolomite being formed in the latter case. Another important observation met with in this area is the silicification of the Lametas, metamorphic and crystalline rocks, the silica being probably derived from the overlying trap. The lavas of the Pavagad Hill can be distinguished into 2 groups, basic and acid. The basic lava is undoubtedly basalt with the Deccan trap peculiarities, while the acid rhyolites show a resemblance, to a remarkable degree, with the Archæan Malni rhyolites(1). There are however some differences between them in detail and the Pavagad rhyolites have been found to possess dacitic affinities and it is suggested that they represent the acid representative of the magma from which the basalts have also been derived and that they are thus Cretaceous and correspond to the rhyolites of Kathiwar. In the General report reference is also made to the Kodurites, nepheline-syenites (miarctite) and the sapphirine-bearing rocks containing a supposed new mineral clino-hypersthene.

Mr. R. D. Oldham contributes to the pages of the Records an important paper on the origin of the pit craters and crater lakes of Chindism(2) in Burmah. These craters owe their origin to a volcanic eruption of the nature of a violent explosion of steam or vapour, unaccompanied by any great heat. A parallelism is also drawn between the Chindwin lakes and the Lonar lake(3). Three important anticlines (the Kabat, the Yenangyat-Singu and the Gwegyo) have been described and the possibilities of mineral oil in them have been discussed.(4) Three parties started last year to study the secular movement of the principal Himalayan glaciers and altogether 12 glaciers were examined. The glaciers of the Hunza Valley and the Karakoram range have been found to descend to lower altitudes than the glaciers of Lahaul and Kumaon,

(1) Mem. G.S.I., Vol. xxxv, pt. 1.

(2) Rec. G.S.I. Vol. xxxiv pt. 3.

(3) *Manual of Indian Geology*, 2nd ed., p. 19.

(4) Rec. G.S.I., Vol. xxxiv, pt. 4.

while in the Hunza Valley two types of glaciers were observed, transverse and longitudinal, and these glaciers all show evidence of general retreat though from these observations we are not to infer that they are *now* in retreat. Data were collected from the Indus to find out the amount of silt and dissolved salts carried by this river to the sea and it appears that the Indian Geological Survey proposes to attack seriously the problem of the age of the earth from denudation evidence to which much importance has been attached by geologist.(1)

The presence in India of a type of bauxite that is being worked in Europe for aluminium has been now Economic Geology been definitely established. Gondwana coal has been observed to occur in the foot-hills of Bhutan.(2) The quality of the coal has been found out to be not very satisfactory. The coals that have been obtained in the Dandli field of Jammu have also turned out to be of an inferior quality. Numerous outcrops of the Jaipur and Nazira coal-fields of Assam are described and the establishment of a colliery on the Dikhu river (Nazira) is recommended.(3) The Makum coal-field has been found out to be a well-defined syncline. A paper dealing with the auriferous Gadag area has been published.(4) Here gold-quartz veins have been observed to occur in argillites and thus they show a striking difference from the modes of occurrence in the Kolar and the Hatti field and it is suggested that "no possible mixture of gold in a new Dharwar field should be left unprospected. Quartz-veins, white and blue, banded quartzites, boulder beds, and pebbly conglomerates—all are possible hosts of gold. Nor should any pyritous 'lode formation,' along a line of reef, though at the spot containing no quartz, escape assay." The iron-ore of Mayurbhanj has been found to contain over 60 and often over 67 per cent. of iron, with phosphorus low enough to make the ore suitable for the manufacture of steel. The methods of working the Panna diamonds were referred to in the review of last year(5) and a paper about the Panna diamonds in Records Vol. XXXIII describes the diamonds, their method of extraction and the geology of the Panna state fully. The diamond is supposed to be derived from the Bundelkhand granite area and the original home must be either

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- (1) *Landscape in History and Other Essays*, by Sir A. Geikie, p. 198 et. seq.
 - (2) Rec. G.S.I., vol. xxxiv, pt. 1.
 - (3) Rec. G.S.I., vol. xxxiv, pt. 4.
 - (4) Rec. G.S.I., vol. xxxiv, pt. 2.
 - (5) *Indian World*, June, 1906.

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the granite itself or its associated quartz reefs or associated basic dykes.

In the course of an important paper(1) contributed to the volume under notice Mr. Vredenburg suggests that the Vindhyan system may be divided into two classes, e.g., *Bhander* and *Ken*. Of these again the former is capable of being sub-divided into *Betwa* series and *Haveti* series and the latter into *Tons* series and *Son* series. The *Tons* will include Rewa and Kaimur of old authors while the *Son* will correspond with the lower Vindhyan of previous observers.

Accounts are published in the General Report(2) showing the results obtained by the survey of the Andamans and Nicobars, Baluchistan, Burmah, Central India, Central Provinces and Kashmir. The discovery of fossils in the Andamans has materially increased our knowledge of these regions and it has been found possible to correlate some of the beds with Lower Lutetian or Upper Ypresian and Burdigalian. There is an abundance of eocene foraminifera while the occurrence of serpentine with gabbro and diorite suggests a correlation with the basic intrusions of upper cretaceous age. Some parts of Central India supposed to be Gondwana(3) have been found out to be of Lameta age. A most interesting result was obtained in Kashmir where direct evidence was obtained of the existence of *Gangamopteris* in beds which are not younger than upper carboniferous and may possibly be middle carboniferous thus settling finally the opinion long held that the lower Gondwanas are Palæozoic in age. The great upper Palæozoic unconformity, hitherto regarded as characteristic of the Himalayan region, was found wanting in the area near the Zewan beds of Kashmir.

An Indian Educationist

(1) Rec. G.S.I., vol. xxxiii, pt. 4.

(2) Rec. G.S.I., vol. xxxv, pt. 1.

(3) Mem. G.S.I., vol. xxi, pt. 1.

THE PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

Madras

There will be three vacancies on the Provincial Legislative Council at the end of the year, as the term of office of the Honourable Mr. Krishnan Nair and the Hon'ble Mr. K. R. Gurusawmi Iyer, representing the Southern Group of Municipalities and District Boards respectively, and of the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma representing the Northern Group of Municipalities, will expire. All the three gentlemen are likely to seek re-election. It is agreed on all hands that they have performed their duties as members of Council with ability and devotion and with a single-minded desire to promote the well-being of their constituencies, and there will, I believe, be no opposition to their re-election. But Mr. Krishnan Nair has been on the Council for four years, and he may reasonably be expected to make room for some other deserving persons. Of such there is no lack : there are, for instance, Mr. M. R. Ramakrishna Iyer of Tinnevely and Mr. M. Venkatarama Iyer of Madura. Later on, the Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer will vacate his seat as the University member of Council. Mr. Sivaswami Iyer during the four years he has sat on the Council has proved himself to be a man of no ordinary capacity. It may indeed be justly said that he is the ablest of all the present non-official members of the Council. He is the first Indian who has been elected as the University representative. If Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, who is in many respects the ablest man now in public life in Southern India, will consent to be put forward as a candidate, his election in Mr. Sivaswami Iyer's place will give much gratification to the public as well as add to the strength of the Council to no small extent.

In accordance with the recommendation of the recent Indian Police Commission, a new class of Police officers, called Sub-Inspectors, has been created in this Presidency, and appointments thereto are being made by nomination. University Matriculates are eligible for these places provided they satisfy the requisite physical tests, and we dare say fairly good men are being chosen. But we find at least two defects in the method of recruitment. In the first place, due regard does not seem to be paid to the intellectual qualifications of the nominees. Secondly, nomination mostly goes by re-

Nomination of
Police Sub-
Inspectors

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commendation, and it is as probable as not that the wrong men might be selected if only the candidates are shrewd enough and assiduous enough to invade the big men of a locality for recommendatory letters. And we know that not many of our countrymen have the strength to say 'No' to such requests. There is another defect, too, which must be pointed out. It has become the fashion for European officers to dislike Brahmans as such, I suppose because they are an intellectual class and they show some independence, and a non-Brahman of inferior calibre stands, therefore, a better chance of success than a Brahman in every way his better. For the removal of these defects in the methods of recruitment the surest means we know of is the substitution of competition, even if it be limited competition, for pure nomination. But since Lord Curzon's day competitive examinations, in which there is no room for the exhibition of servility on one side and partisanship on the other, have fallen into disfavour, in spite of the craze for 'efficiency.' And we do not suppose there is any chance of their early re-introduction.

The Madras Educational Exhibition, which was held during the course of the month, was a splendid success. Educational exhibits are always interesting as well as instructive, even to the fairly intelligent layman and they are a particularly useful study for those employed in teaching and inspection. Teachers of various grades from all parts of the Presidency, and even from some places outside the Presidency, visited the Exhibition and went away, we have no doubt-much profited. The Exhibition was opened with an admirable inaugural address by the Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer to whom more than one reference has been made in the course of these Notes.

The Exhibition was marred by the disturbance created by certain students, a few of whom have been sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment and fine by the Chief Presidency Magistrate for rioting. It is a great pity that students should figure as accused in criminal cases. Is it impossible for them to restrain themselves and to behave like the good boys that I have no doubt they are as a rule? The Magistrate's admonition to them, which I am glad is supported by the *Hindu*, should be taken to heart by the youngmen concerned. At Vizagapatam town, two students belonging to the Senior F. A. Class have been rusticated for a whole year simply because one spoke at, and the other attended, a meeting where a lecture on Japan was

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delivered by another young man who has given up his studies. And more than one Principal of a College has issued circulars prohibiting even the attendance of students at public meetings where politics are talked, thus transcending even the limits imposed by the Risley circular. All this is very sad and very mistaken. It must be frankly recognized that the students cannot be prevented from the study of politics ; nor is it advisable that they should be. It is nonsense to tell them not to attend meetings. They must and they will. What should be attempted is not the suppression but the regulation of the students' activity in these matters. To attempt to suppress is absolutely futile. On the other side, the students must make it their first duty to refrain from all excesses which sully their good name as well as cast a blight on their entire future.

Monstrous sentences have been imposed on the alleged rioters at Cocanada, and bail has been refused pending The ' Unrest ' the hearing of the appeal which the accused filed before the Sessions Judge. The Collector delivered judgment in the case brought by the Secretary of the English Club asking the inhabitants to pay the damages sustained by the Club in the same proportion in which the Punitive Police tax is paid. One's self-respect as an Indian is wounded, and one's blood boils, at a contemplation of all the facts of these Cocanada cases. And I for one can only say that if the citizens of Cocanada are not to stultify themselves and proclaim to the whole world their unfitness for any thing better than the abject servility in which the authorities are teaching them that they are, they will absolutely refuse to pay a single *son* either for the maintenance of the Punitive Police or the damages the English Club has sustained. They have submitted a memorial on the subject, but I think it is exceedingly improbable that a Governor like Sir Arthur Lawley will care to do justice in such a matter. The Sessions Judge of Godavari acquitted the constables accused of a conspiracy to murder their Assistant Superintendent, Mr. Atkinson, and made some unfavourable comments on the veracity of one or more European witnesses belonging to the Police Department. No doubt Sir A. Lawley's Government will take note of the strictures passed by the Sessions Judge by giving a lift in the department to those Europeans, as Sir L. Hare has done at Comilla. A European Reserve Inspector, Mr. Bell, was shot by a constable because of his ill-treatment, and the constable made it impossible for the Government to haul him up for trial by taking his own life. These are the latest news of the so-called "unrest" in our quiet, peaceful Presidency.

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There is such abundance of legal and judicial talent in the country that it has been always considered a scandal that the Government of the so-called 'Model' State of Mysore should have a European—and that too, not a Barrister but a Civilian—as Chief Judge of its Chief Court. For some years it was Mr. Justice Best of the Madras High Court, for sometime it was Mr. Staley, a District and Sessions Judge of Bengal who was imported into the State by Sir James Bourdillon when he was Resident, and after him it was Mr. Justice Moore of the Madras High Court. The death of Mr. Moore has created the present vacancy. It is now some months since the vacancy was created, but no permanent appointment has yet been made. We are told that that very competent lawyer and esteemable citizen, the Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, was offered the place but that he declined it. It is a matter of regret that he should have done so, but there are other qualified lawyers in Madras who can very properly be chosen for the office. To name only a few—there is Dewan Bahadur M. O. Parthasarathy Aiyangar, at present District and Sessions Judge of Godavari ; Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, a leading Vakil of the High Court ; Mr. T. Sadasiva Iyer, the Chief Judge of the Travancore Chief Court ; Mr. T. Q. Ramachandra Iyer, formerly Judge of the Travancore Chief Court and now a leading practitioner at Madras ; and last but not least, Mr. C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, Judge of the Madras City Civil Court. Mr. Madhava Rao, the Dewan for whom one cannot but have a great regard, will incur no little unpopularity, and deservedly, if he fails to satisfy the public sentiment in this important matter. He has already got a name for being a trifle too partial to Europeans, and this unfortunate impression will be confirmed and his reputation sullied if he goes in for a European in filling up the vacancy.

It is said that the question of the separation of the judicial and the executive functions is at present under the consideration of the Government of Mysore. It is further stated that the officials are opposed to the innovation, and that for financial reasons the reform may be put off for the present. Of course it is in the nature of Governments not held accountable to elected tribunals representing the voice of the independent public to be confronted by financial difficulties whenever such pretext will help in the putting off of reforms which will have the effect of curtailing the liberty of the officials. But we suggest to Dewan Madhava Rao with all respect that he should in this matter

The Mysore Chief Judgeship

Judicial and Executive Functions in Mysore

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prefer the example of Baroda to that of British India. We know that the enlightened ruler of that progressive State has separated these two incompatible functions, the combination of which in the same officer makes impartial administration of criminal justice all but an impossibility. If Mysore is to continue to deserve the *sobriquet* of a model Native State, there should be no hesitation on the part of the responsible officers there to carry out progressive reforms like the one we are considering.

It is a matter of regret that work on the Vizianagram-Raipur line is not pushed forward more rapidly. It is a line 310 miles in length and is estimated to cost Rs. 250 lakhs. But the powers that be do not seem to consider it of sufficient importance to provide the requisite funds on a liberal scale. Indeed, at the slow rate at which work is proceeding, it will be several years before the line can be opened. This is not as it should be. The export trade of the Central Provinces as well as portions of the Northern Circars will be considerably improved when this line of railway and the long contemplated Vizigapatam harbour are constructed. The advantage to habitual railway passengers will also be great, as then people wishing to go from the Northern districts of the Madras Presidency to Central and Western India will not have to make a round-about journey via Khargpur or Calcutta, or *via* Bezevada, Wadi, etc. The journey will be rendered much easier by the opening of the direct route between Vizianagram and Raipur. Unfortunately the *Pioneer* of Allahabad has never looked with a kindly eye on this line and has written many paragraphs to give no funds to it as (in its opinion) more immediately needed lines in the north have to be urgently financed. It is a pity that none in the affected tract takes an earnest interest in the matter and sends representations to the Government not to show the step-mother's affection to the Vizianagram-Raipur Railway.

Madras

BOMBAY

The familiar observation that things move very slowly in India is well illustrated by the history of the Tata Institute of Science. Seven long years of anxious suspense and persistent agitation have passed before the institution could assume a definite shape: there are those among us who cavil at the judgment of Mr. Tata in placing his institution in the hands of the Government. It cannot be denied that the attitude of

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Lord Curzon was at first so palpably unsympathetic that it was obvious he wanted to throttle it at its inception. The steady perseverance of the shrewd and statesmanlike philanthropist and, after him, of his worthy sons, Mr. Darabjee and Mr. Ratanjee, and still more of his worthy secretary, Mr. B. L. Padshah, have now borne fruit and it is hoped that, in a year or so, the institution will start work. It has a very large income, an excellent building and a capable and enthusiastic Principal in Dr. Morris Travers. He has very broad and practical ideas on the subject of scientific education, and from personal contact I am convinced that, if the institution is run entirely on lines which he lays down without any external interference, the great hopes centred in it will be fully realised. After settling all the details in this country, he has just left for England to select the best professors for the few branches of research on which he wishes to concentrate attention in the first few years of the existence of the institution.

It is a matter of surprise and satisfaction that, after an existence of over fifty years, the deplorable condition of the Elphinstone College, the first and oldest Arts College in our Presidency, should have after all engaged the attention of the Government. The many defects which detract from the usefulness of this institution are a sad reflection upon the Government, when, in the recent agitation about the Universities Act, stringent rules were laid down about various details necessary in private colleges. They also illustrate their apathy in the cause of higher education in general, which has been, silently yet deliberately, adopted as a feature of the educational policy in the last quarter of a century. However, we owe it to the sincere zeal and honest devotion to duty of its present Principal and the present Director of Public Instruction, that Government have been compelled to take up the question of putting the College on a satisfactory basis. A committee has been appointed by a special government resolution, consisting of Sir Perozshah, Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, and the two gentlemen just mentioned. The building in which it is now housed was intended only as a halfway house towards a permanent location, where it has been allowed to remain for twenty years, exposed to the noise of a principal thoroughfare, with the best portion of it occupied by nasty records of Government. The hostel is situated at some distance, and being built all round by huge piles of massive buildings, is most undesirable for housing over a hundred scholars. The provision for teaching science is so meagre that out of shame and despair, its head

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BOMBAY)

had to give the ultimatum to government either to give an adequate staff and laboratory or to disaffiliate science from the College altogether. Nearly half the staff consists of acting professors, who have little heart in their work, even when they have the capacity to do it well.

It is a fortunate circumstance that private philanthropists are coming to the help of the government in re-organising the Elphinstone College. Principal among them must be mentioned the great philanthropist, Mr. Jacob Sassoon, the worthy grandson of the great merchant, David Sassoon, the present head of the Jewish community in India and the largest employer of labour in Bombay, whose wealth is measured by crores and charities by millions. His offer will be probably accepted for instituting a separate scientific laboratory for the College. But, greater hopes are placed in Mr. Sassoon for endowing what should be called the Central Institute of Science, where the teaching of science in all the arts and medical colleges should be transferred. I am in a position to state that these larger hopes are not entirely without ground. But, the question is too vast for a hasty solution. Where millions are involved, the step must be cautiously taken. Besides, such an arrangement will need the institution of a separate faculty of science in our University, in which candidates should specialise only in one branch of science for some years. This will be a preliminary training in the undergraduate stage before the student goes to the Tata Institute for taking up the post-graduate course.

The advocates of state-regulation of labour in factories have so far succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a Commission to investigate the questions of long hours of work, the labour of children and women, and so forth. That this sudden outburst of humanitarian feelings in the hard and dry hearts of English manufacturers should synchronise with the rise of swadeshism in this country raises strong suspicion about the purity and unselfishness of their motives. The *Times of India*, the self-styled leading paper of Asia, first organised a systematic campaign by visiting all the mills and publishing long articles. About the same time, deputations after deputations from Lancashire waited on the Secretary of State, because the Indian labourer was overworked : but the State was slow to move. Private influence was therefore used with the members of the Mill-owners' Association to reduce the hours of work, thus decreasing the total output and increasing its cost. This attempt was not wholly successful. Now, the

Factory Com-
mission

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great humanitarians of Lancashire have caught the ear of Mr. Morley and the result of a Commission appointed after so much exertions is a foregone conclusion. That the present organisation of labour needs improvement is undoubted. But, when the State holds itself aloof in industrial matters, the policy of *laissez faire* in factory-labour should be also adopted by them, and allow economic conditions to adjust themselves. The result of compulsory interference will lead to dishonesty on the part of employers, and strikes and dislocation of work on the part of labourers, while the immediate consequence will be diminution of production and increase of cost.

While the enemies of our mill-industry in Lancashire are thus assiduously working against it, Providence has already blessed us with an arrangement, which will more than counterbalance the ruinous consequences of their exertions. Next year the Tata hydro-electric scheme will be complete, under which, the Ghats will be harnessed, and cheap electric power supplied to our factories. The initial difficulties have been overcome. Government have, after special investigation, consented to acquire over 30 villages on the table-land of the Ghats, near Lonauli : The opposition of our local Tramways and Electric Supply Company, who claimed to be the sole monopolists in the city, has been silenced. All that remains to be done now is to build up a dam, which, alone in the peculiar configuration of the place, will create a gigantic lake, letting down a constant flow of a large volume of water over a big drop of nearly 2000 feet, and to put cable-communication with the city to bring the power to Bombay. It is expected that this will reduce the cost of mill-produce by nearly a third of its present amount.

The maxim that failures are the harbingers of success was never better illustrated than by the history of constant attempts to establish an iron industry in this country. In an able paper which the late Mr. Justice Ranade read in 1892, he described no less than 17 pioneer attempts so far unsuccessfully made in this direction, and explained the failures on these grounds, viz., (1) smallness of capital employed ; (2) scarcity and heavy cost of good fuel ; (3) inaccessibility of the places chosen for railway or sea-communication ; (4) want of skill and management on the part of the pioneers ; (5) the extremely unsympathetic attitude of Government and the oscillations of purpose shown by it. It was reserved for the late Mr. Tata to utilise this valuable experience and the success which his endeavours and those of his successors have met is the greatest claim which he

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BOMBAY)

must have upon the gratitude of his countrymen. How he underwent the large initial expense in importing experts for prospecting the iron-mines, how he overcame the delays of official red-tapism and want of sympathy, how he was nearly balked of his benefit by the mean attempts of some Anglo-Indians to set up a bogus company, how his successors met with continued disappointments in collecting capital in England for such a purpose,—all this is past history now. The promoters have now availed of a more propitious season in trade and there is simply a run for the purchase of their shares, so that, no more are received for the present. From most of the disabilities mentioned by Mr. Ranade, they are free. Few companies were started with such large resources, and their skill and management have been put to a test in several ways; the district chosen for operations is within easy reach of a trunk-line of railways and a branch line will be soon laid to effect a through communication. The Government of the day is certainly more sympathetic and has given them some guarantee for the purchase of material. The vicinity of coal-fields in Bengal makes the problem of good fuel easy of solution. The iron-age of India is now looming on the horizon, which will, let us hope, also bring in the golden age of the land.

Bombay was astir a few days ago owing to the procession for the immolation of the Ganpati on the tenth day. Ganpati Melas This festival is confined only to the Marathi-speaking section of the community, and has become more prominent in the last ten years owing to the association with it of what is known as the "Melas." These are religious-political organisations consisting of small bands of young men in each locality, who are dressed in uniform and go through various exercises with stick in hand, singing patriotic songs. They keep this festival for ten days and pass in procession to the sea-shore on the last day. The idea of organising these "Melas" was first started by the extreme school of political thought in Poona, with a view to avail themselves of religious fervour for political purposes, and the contagion has spread to the principal towns of the Deccan. Experience of a decade has shown the utter futility of this institution for any practical purpose, and everywhere it is steadily on the decrease. It is one more instance of the lack of true organising genius of the Extremist school, who create a lot of temporary agitation but leave no permanent results behind.

The missionaries of our Province have, with the co-operation of a few leading government-officials, succeeded in getting a committee appointed by special Govern-

Murlis

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ment resolution to devise means for doing away with the evil of dedicating girls to gods, called "Murlis" in the Deccan, whose compulsory celibacy usually forces them to a life of immorality. Three years ago, the present writer published a series of six articles on behalf of the Central Reform Association, and the attention of the authorities was drawn to the inadequacy of the existing law to check this evil. The question was taken up by other bodies also, and now a society for the protection of children has been established in Bombay with a branch in Poona for the purpose. The greatest care is needed in the method of work, as the missionaries play an important part in the organisation. The work of rescue will proceed with great vigour, but how are the minors so rescued to be dealt with? The various orphanages have been approached, and the Committee are exerting to institute a central orphanage, where the rescued children could be received. Only then the public will have confidence in the work and not otherwise.

D. G. D.

THE PUNJAB

On the 12th of September all Punjab was agreeably surprised to learn that on the previous day the special Magistrate had discharged 15 of the accused in the Rawalpindiee Riot case, one of whom was Lala Moti Ram, the Secretary of the District Indian Association which had called the memorable meeting of the 21st April that was the root of all the trouble. This joy-giving, though rather unexpected, incident immediately followed the conclusion of the Public Prosecutor's summing-up speech, which evidently had produced some effect on the mind of the magistrate that was not desired by that eminent counsel. Three days later, on the 14th, Rawalpindi witnessed a scene which will be long remembered by its citizens. On that day Mr. Bodh Raj, Barrister-at-law, son of Lala Hans Raj, and principal counsel for the defence, had gone through about two and-a-half days' argument, exposing some of the forgeries and fabrications of prosecution witnesses, when the special Magistrate all of a sudden ordered the enlargement on bail, of only Rs. 500 each, of all the accused including the six lawyers, only excepting seven men who had been caught red-handed in the rioting. The news spread like wildfire through the city, and there were such touching re-unions and pathetic scenes, when their near and dear ones met the accused

A Faint Streak
in the Dark
Firmament

PROGRESS OF INDIA (PUNJAB)

after a tragic separation of more than four months, as to have melted even the heart of stone. Not only by this generous order of his, but also by a delicate touch of humanity when he rushed from his chair to the aid of Mr. Bodh Raj, who had fainted away with fatigue and joy, Mr. Martineau gave glimpses of a feeling soul which had hitherto been concealed by an exterior of stiff reserve bordering sometimes on apparent heartlessness. But more surprises were in store for the people of Rawalpindi. On the 17th instant after the prosecution had made certain admissions damaging to itself, the remaining 7 prisoners were let out on bail on security of Rs. 100 each, showing apparently that in the Magistrate's opinion the worst of the alleged rioters were not such dangerous characters, after all. The trial is still proceeding, Mr. Bodh Raj pursuing his able argument which is invested with the romance of a youthful counsel, like Portia dressed as a Doctor of Laws, pleading for his nearest and dearest against the prosecution's demand for the pound of flesh. Memorable on many accounts will this historic trial be, but for nothing more so than this touching spectacle of a worthy son pleading on behalf of a noble but stricken father.

These recent occurrences at Rawalpindi have caused streaks of hope to dawn upon the public mind in the Punjab, oppressed as it has been for nearly five months past with almost hopeless gloom. People have now begun to look forward to a time when the atmosphere may clear up by and by and a less distressful order of things replace the present one. Rawalpindi seems to have given the first indications of a changing wind, and the action of the Chief Court, expected in a couple of days, in the "India" sedition appeal case, will show if the change has come as a regular current or only as a passing breeze. The attitude of the learned judges (the Chief Judge and Mr. Justice Chatterji), at any rate, as well as the entire atmosphere of the Court, savoured more of the mood to deliberate than of the anxiety to punish which the outsider could not dissociate from his mind in the lower court, with the prisoners being paraded in handcuffs before him. A great deal of the future of the Punjab hangs on the manner and spirit in which the several cases now pending before the Courts will be disposed of. The turn of the Lahore "Riot" case on revision before the Chief Court comes next.

As in Bengal, so in the Punjab—if indeed not more so—the tendency of current events and Government's obvious policy is to push the Mahomedans to the forefront as much as the Hindus are being kicked

Important Issue
at Stake

Mahomedans
Aggressive

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backwards. The former are in the heyday of their glory and not slow to profit by the opportunity they have got. They feel that loaves and fishes are now the order of the day for them, and that even the wrong-doers of their community need not fear harm. The *Watan* Press, which escaped prosecution although implicated in the printing of *India* at least on as good evidence as the poor Editor of *Hindusthan*, has been recently alleged to have been guilty of printing obscene songs and an anti-Hindu manifesto somewhat like the "Red Pamphlet" of Bengal; yet no proceedings are in evidence against it so far as the public are aware, and the Editor of the *Watan* is constantly figuring in the columns of some of the local prints (notably the *Civil and Military Gazette*) as one of the leading lights of Islamic loyalty and main props of the British Raj. No wonder this state of things is leading to impressions far from desirable, and the Sikhs are loudly complaining of a big Gurdwara (temple) of theirs having been burnt by Mahomedans and the real offenders let go scot-free. But the frontier town of Abbottabad perhaps furnishes the most glaring instance of the Punjab Muslim's mischievous aggressiveness and the Hindu's wretched plight. The public have already heard of the deportation out of the Hazara District (of which Abbottabad is the chief town) of a leading member of the local Arya Samaj simply because he had some altercation with his milkman's boy, which was twisted and exaggerated into an abuse, in the open market, of the Prophet of Arabia by certain Mahomedan passers-by. A case was instituted, but although the Deputy Commissioner could not find the poor Arya guilty under the law, Dhani Ram (that's his name) was ordered to leave the place as the Mahomedans would have nothing short of it. Now one hears of not merely the same District, but the entire N. W. F. Province, as likely to be denuded of "undesirable" Hindus, and the first step has been taken by the sudden and uncalled-for transfer of a number of Hindu officers from Abbottabad. One of these officers is a District Judge noted throughout the Province for his integrity and independence of character, qualities which are evidently not wanted where things are desired to be carried against the dictates of reason and equity. Rumour is also in the air of some more cases of Hindu deportation from the District as being in the process of hatching, and we may some day be startled by a reproduction of the Etawah affair in some Frontier town, where there is no Sir John Hewett to save innocent men from persecution and harassment. Blind executive force is supreme in these provinces without any ray of relief from

any quarter being likely to penetrate the gloom. Poor Dhani Ram has had to leave his family and business (their mainstay) at Abbottabad, and even if some people care, no one dares in these days interest himself about his fate. While such is the plight of the Hindus, the Mahomedan rejoicings are swelled by special privileges conceded to them in Mr. Morley's "Reforms" and the shout of loyalty threatens to grow deafening indeed.

While the situation thus continues to be critical, and the tension of feeling high, attempts are being made here and there to throw oil upon troubled waters, which however prove of little avail because the exact location of the trouble is not discerned by the would-be peace-makers. The letter of the Lord Bishop of Lahore and of a certain anonymous high official, recommending more polite treatment of Indians by Europeans, which appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, are by this time matters of common knowledge all over India. Other similar efforts to bring about a better understanding between rulers and ruled have also made appearance in the same quarter, and it is curious to note that the writers are all Anglo-Indians, the evident meaning of whose communications is that these worthies have begun to realise the existence of something very wrong in their treatment of the people of India. Unfortunately none of the writers has been able to go to the root of the evil. They all assume that the educated Indian's grievance is more a matter of sentiment than having its origin in any deep-seated sense of wrong ; that undoubtedly Europeans are haughty in their bearing towards the children of the soil, but there are shortcomings also on the latter's part ; and that, above all, agitators are a class of pure mischief-makers who ought to be shunned as much by their own countrymen who wish to pull on well with Englishmen as by the latter themselves. There is the crux of the situation. These amiable writers are willing to treat with what they are pleased to call the "gentlefolk" among the educated Indians, but then the latter must sing the Anglo-Indian's tune, acknowledge that they have no grievance when they are admitted into Englishmen's clubs, and treat the agitator as a pure nuisance not fit for any genteel society. There are one or two who have gone the length of admitting that frequent land revenue assessments and such measures as the enhancement of canal rates do constitute real grievances to the agriculturist, but then the agitator has no business to meddle with them—let him remain aloof and let the *Sarkar* give him short shrift for his impertinence—and Indians who care to be patronised

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(for that is what good treatment means) by the ruling classes must have nothing to do with him. This is, of course, an impracticable proposal, and therefore, though the good intentions of one or two of the writers are appreciated by the average Punjabi, the offers of *rapprochement* have evoked no enthusiasm in him, for he is not prepared to taboo and abandon the very men who have shown the Englishman his mistakes and made him desire for a reconciliation that he would otherwise never have thought of. The peace-makers want the Indian to condemn and shun those of his countrymen who have always championed his rights and ventilated his grievances, for making peace with men who but for these champions would to-day have remained as indifferent to his feelings as before. Proposals of reconciliation on such wrong basis are absolutely futile. If there be Englishmen who sincerely wish for a better state of things, they must concede that the Indian is perfectly their equal politically—social intercourse is not such an important matter; that the latter should not be a mere dependent on the former's favour; and that the educated son of the soil has as much right—if not a better one—to speak and work on behalf of his countrymen as the ill-informed and generally unsympathetic foreigner. This, however, the bureaucrat is never likely to do; he will always assume the higher, if not the only right, to speak for the masses and look after them in his own way; he will not allow the educated Indian even to approach them. And hence all such negotiations must prove unsuccessful.

Amicus

THE UNITED PROVINCES

The Technical Education Conference held at Naini Tal on the 19th August and subsequent days was a great success, for which thanks are due to Sir John Hewett and Mr. S. H. Butler, C.I.E., who acted as Secretary to the Conference. The opening speech of Sir John was a wholly admirable one. It contained a masterly and dispassionate review of the present situation, and in its indication of the measures which were necessary to rehabilitate industrial India it was thoroughly businesslike as well as statesmanlike. If a like spirit informs all the Members of the Governments, Supreme and Provincial, in India, what may not be accomplished? The Conference divided itself into Sub-Committees, and considered the various matters submitted to them. The recommendations that were finally made by the Conference are reasonably liberal in their character and scope,

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and if they be accepted by the Government of India, much progress may be expected to be made by the United Provinces in the near future. The recommendations comprise additions to the Thomason Engineering College at Roorkee so as to make it a completely equipped Industrial College, the establishment of a College of Technology at Cawnpore, the starting of several secondary technical schools at important district centres, the foundation of arts schools, of weaving factories, and so on. All of which closely follow the Resolutions passed at our own unofficial Industrial Conference, Indian and Provincial. Sir John Hewett has gone to Simla and would certainly use all his influence with the Government of India for securing their consent to the recommendations of the Conference. We earnestly hope that they will not dispose of them in the same cavalier manner in which the scheme of technical education submitted by the Government of Madras was rejected only last year.

Commendation is due to Mr. A. C. Chatterji, I.C.S., the talented officer who was placed on special duty to make an industrial survey of the United Provinces, for the equal promptitude and ability with which he has compiled his informing, instructive and elaborate notes on the present condition and the future possibilities of the various industries indigenous to the United Provinces. Public opinion has long urged the institution of such a survey in the different parts of the country, but without response for a long time. The Government of India moved in the matter in the year 1888, but the Provincial Governments would not respond to the call of the Supreme Government and the idea was allowed to rest for a decade and a half, when the Indian Industrial Conference was founded, and that body has unceasingly pressed the question of the industrial survey on the attention of Government. Sir John Hewett was the first of Provincial rulers to have a survey made. Sir Andrew Fraser and Sir Lancelot Hare have also spoken of the matter in hopeful terms. The Government of Madras have appointed M. Alfred Chatterton as Director of Technical and Industrial Enquiries. Will the Governments of Bombay, the Punjab and Burma, and the Administration of the Central Provinces lag behind in the race? And will the Governments of Native States remain idle?

Since writing my Notes last month, the Government of India's Resolution on plague preventive measures has been published. We are gratified by the noble sympathy expressed by our gracious King-Emperor, and by the assurances of the Government of India and the Secretary of State that

Mr. A. C. Chatterji's Report

Plague Measures

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they will not overlook the significance of the heart-rending mortality from the pestilence. We are more pleased still at the prospect held out that money will be spent in future for mitigating the evils of overcrowding. The United Provinces Government took advantage of the presence of a number of representative Indian gentlemen at Naini Tal, to convene a conference of at which they as well as Civilians and medicos were present, to discuss the measures that should be taken during the next epidemic. The pulling down of dirty, damp, old houses, the broadening of streets, the construction of new houses with some regard to sanitary principles, and the extension of towns whenever necessary and feasible—these are the very essentials of a plague preventive policy. Without this giant evil of over-crowding being attacked, other measures are bound to fail of their purpose. It is this fact of the situation that Government must be impressed by. And being impressed by it, they must provide money liberally for opening up congested areas and rebuilding towns. The most excellent of the Government's lay sermons will fail of its purpose unless they are prepared to devote some respectable fraction of their revenue on this object. Can not a crore of rupees be allotted for such expenditure in each Province? If the Government are not prepared to do this, pray let them not talk of plague prevention and of sympathy with the masses.

Your contemporary, the *Indian People*, has said that no detailed discussion of the 'reform' scheme is called for, as there are very few redeeming features in it and as it is more a scheme of reaction and retrogression which must be condemned outright than of progressive reform which can be welcomed. I agree with the *Indian People* in its characterization of the scheme, but I do not concur in its opinion that no detailed discussion of it is necessary. Unless radical innovations are introduced into it, so that it may become transformed out of all recognition, it will produce the greatest mischief and we shall accordingly be failing in our most important duty if we do not try to kill it by the very force of our destructive criticism. Our duty at this juncture is two-fold. We must forcibly point out the objectionable features of the Government's proposals so that they may be dropped. Secondly, we must authoritatively put forward a constructive scheme of our own which must be pressed by every possible means. Possibly the tactics of 1890-91-92 may have to be repeated and a Bill introduced in Parliament on our behalf by an influential and eminent private member like Sir Charles Dilke. The constructive proposals put forward by us should

The U. P. Association and the 'Reform' Scheme

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proceed with the force of a unanimous public opinion behind them. This renders it necessary that our several Provincial organizations should not immediately publish any ideas they may form, but leave it to the Congress to do so in the first instance. But for the Congress at Nagpur to do this, the Provincial Associations should appoint Committees to go into the question thoroughly in all its aspects and place before the Subjects Committee of the Congress their respective views as to what shape the proposals should take for them to be acceptable to Indian public opinion. The Subjects Committee may appoint a small representative Sub-Committee to examine the various proposals and decide upon what course to recommend to the country in the name of the Congress. I write all this with a view to impress on the Committee of the United Provinces Association the necessity of referring to a Sub-Committee these so-called 'reform' proposals with instructions to report by the end of November or thereabouts. Then there will be time enough for the general body of the Association to consider the report of the Sub-Committee and formulate their own conclusions before the Meeting of the Congress.

At the first United Provinces Industrial Conference held at Allahabad in March last, the United Provinces Industrial Association was formed and it was resolved, too, that the United Provinces Sugar Mills Co. should be formed with a capital of one lakh of rupees. And Rs. 53,600 were subscribed on the spot. But it would appear that no further steps have been taken in the matter. This, to put it very mildly, is not as it should be. We implore the Association to summon the persons who have promised to take shares in the proposed Company and to float the Company without any further loss of time. The season is fast approaching and it is a great pity that nothing should have been done yet. The Association has plenty of other work to do just at present, when the local Government is taking such genuine interest in the industrial movement, and it is to be hoped that it will, by giving a good account of itself, show the fitness of our countrymen for progress in the industrial field.

Upon

BENGAL

The Government of Bengal must have by this time been either thoroughly enjoying the situation or must have grown thoroughly weary of it, that is according to the

The Unrest

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temper in which they have set about the work of repression. For the one thing that has been amply borne out by the recent trials is that repression is reproductive. One folly leads on to another and when you are thoroughly ashamed of it and would like to have done with it altogether, pop comes up an offshoot of your folly which you must deal with, with due regard to your prestige. So that however you might like to have quiet, quiet is just the thing you are not likely to get. This is exactly what has been happening in Bengal, and the excitement of these things down here has more than amply compensated the comparative lull in Eastern Bengal.

First came the case in connection with the search in the *Yugantar* office of which I made a passing mention last month. On the 7th August last the police was making a second search in the office of the *Yugantar*.

The Yugantar
Assault Case

The presence of the police drew forth a crowd of anxious spectators—a thing for which policemen seem to have no appetite. The police people evidently lost their temper and abused people. Words led on to blows; and eventually two men, one from the office and the other a student, were hauled up from the crowd for riot before Mr. Kingsford, the Chief Presidency Magistrate. They were of course convicted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. The High Court on being moved granted a rule in the cause of the student to show cause why he being a first offender should not be let off on his father executing a bond. The rule came for hearing before the Vacation Bench and the learned judges, evidently disagreeing with the judges who had issued the rule, discharged it. The monstrosity of the sentence in a case of simple offence in which there was undoubtedly a great deal of give and take and in which evidently the police were the unjustified aggressors is unquestionable; but even more remarkable is the attitude of the magistrate who, in offering the explanation, had the hardihood to say that the punishment was called forth by the prevailing spirit of rebellion among students which prompts them to assault police whenever possible and by the necessity of upholding the authority of the police. If the authority of the police is at all in jeopardy, how is it that we don't hear of any policeman being assaulted except where he is the aggressor? Besides, the prevailing spirit was not at all within the judicial cognisance of the magistrate, and the principle of law is exceedingly wholesome that the judge shall take into consideration no facts except such as appear before him in evidence.

As to the other part of Mr. Kingsford's statement that the autho-

Mr Kingsford
and the Police

riety of the police has yet to be upheld, there is no doubt that he has given ample evidence of his slavish desire to do all for the sake of the Police. For, in the mad run for repression that the Government and the police have made, they have kicked up lots of more row in a month than might well be considered to be good work for a year; and in each of these Mr. Kingsford has proved equal to the occasion. Evidence might be adduced on behalf of the defence, respectable barristers might depose in their behalf, but Mr. Kingsford was imperturbable. Not one of the accused persons brought up before him for having assaulted the police in all these rows got off with less than a week's hard labour. One would suppose that in a row with a crowd, the Police might peradventure pick up one or two wrong men; but Mr. Kingsford is without any such misgivings and he is convinced that the police must be vindicated by all manner of means.

Following close on this assault case came the second trial of the *Yugantar*. Since the incarceration of its editor, the Second trial of the *Yugantar* has been publishing articles which in point of rabid declamation were far ahead of anything that have been written before and the Government began a prosecution of its printer and manager for some of these. The manager pleaded that he had nothing to do with the articles, but the printer took the entire responsibility upon himself. The result was that the manager was let off and the printer got two years hard labour. I donot know which to wonder most in this affair,—the dogged pertinacity of the Government in its never-ending chase of ever-developing sedition or the blind rage of the young writer in the *Yugantar* which does not take count of the existing and prospective difficulties of the situation. Here possibly the *Yugantar* people would heartily disagree from me. But I must confess I am not particularly enamoured of strife for its own sake. Those may have been excellent occasions to show the sort of spirit, in many ways very admirable, which has characterised the conduct of the printer and the editor, but that seems to be no very valid reasons why our national interests must be jeopardised by needlessly inviting the Government to interfere in our work.

Later Unrest
incidents.

One does not really know where all this repression is likely to end, if it is to go on at this rate. For the public mind has for some time been at a tremendous tension. It has been more than usually charged with electricity. It had best been left alone to waste its excitement. But since the Government has chosen to shake it, it has had to

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come in for a large share of shocks in the most unexpected manner. The trial of the *Yugantar* led to some disorder among the crowd which assembled in the court. The police freely used violence in order to disperse the crowd and a great deal more of it than was necessary. Some spirited young men would not brook it, and they returned some blows. They were hauled up, and each got a term of imprisonment and one got flogged. Then the *Bande-Mataram* was prosecuted. At first only the editor was prosecuted, but then came in the printer and the manager. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, on being asked to give evidence on behalf of the prosecution, manfully refused to have anything to do with a prosecution which he looked upon as detrimental to public interest. This was a new side-issue and perhaps it was a good opportunity to hook Babu Bepin Chandra Pal and clap him in jail—a consummation our authorities devoutly desired. But when Bepin Babu was actually convicted after an amount of bungling that was far from necessary, disturbances again broke up with some fighting in the streets which seems to have thoroughly shaken the *Englishman's* faith in Bengalee cowardice. Here was a fresh occasion and a fresh batch of young men were safely lodged in jail. But even now the race does not seem to have been fully run, for only the other day Mr. A. C. Banerji, Bar-at-law, was arrested and warrants are said to have been issued against 3 others. Meanwhile neither has the tone of writing in the papers mellowed down, nor have the students and youngmen learnt to cultivate the wholesome fear of the *lal pugree* which before this made the Bengalee the very peaceful and loyal citizen that he has so far been. That is to say, the objects of the Government have notoriously failed and the fact made abundantly clear that any number of young men are quite prepared to go to jail for the sake of their honour and self-respect, no less than for the sake of their country. When things come to this pass, the most convenient thing for the Government to do is to beat a retreat, unless of course it wants to thrust the country into the worst possible state of anarchy.

There has been one episode in connection with these disturbances which deserves a passing notice as a clear evidence of the spirit in which the Magistrate Mr. Kingsford and the Government have set to work. In order to inflict adequate punishment on a young man of seventeen years or less who had the temerity to return the blow of an European inspector and maintain his footing for a long time in an unequal fight with several policemen, Mr. Kingsford ordered

The Whipping
Case

him to be flogged in a manner which disregarded a very important High Court circular on the subject. The vakil for the accused pointed out the High Court circular regulating this matter, but before he could show him the circular the prisoner was carried away to jail. The Magistrate was thus guilty of a flagrant disregard of the High Court orders without showing any reason for this extraordinary behaviour. The Government of Bengal, when interpellated on the subject, replied that the Magistrate had only exercised the discretion with which he was vested in this matter. The Bengal Government is perhaps not aware that there is such a thing as judicial discretion in law which is not identical with the whims of the judge nor is meant to afford the Magistrate opportunity to indulge in political predilections under its cover. This judicial discretion the Magistrate has failed to exercise, being blinded, as he admits in so many words, by his preconceptions about the gravity of the situation and the 'rebellious spirit' of the students. The Government by conniving at it only shows its mad adherence to a blind policy which, if it does not lead you to the 'everlasting bonfire,' will at any rate land you in a frightful quagmire.

The result of the trial of the *Bande Mataram* newspaper in the Police Court has come as a surprise upon the people, they have been so used to regard conviction as a foregone conclusion in such cases before Mr. Kingsford. Mr. Kingsford however seems to have brought to the decision of this case a large amount of justice and fairness. His extra-judicial comments on the Press laws and their inefficiency does not largely take off from the merits of the judicious decision he has arrived at. He has found of course that the articles in question were seditious in law, a point on which we may agree to differ, but in holding that there was no evidence to fix the responsibility on Mr. Arabinda Ghose or the manager he was perfectly fair. The punishment of three months' rigorous imprisonment inflicted on the printer, who was at best only technically guilty, is certainly absurd, but still it is somewhat better than we have been used to in the Police Court of late.

Anglo-Indian papers recently raised a chorus of protest against the abolition of the post of city architect by the Corporation of Calcutta. We Indians are supposed to be awfully fond of biassed and ill-informed criticism, but these august representatives of a responsible and highly well-informed press made quite a large draft on their imagination when they fancied the city architect to be a gentleman who had his eye upon the

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architectural improvement of Calcutta and without whose diligent supervision Calcutta would end in being a fightful medley of ill-designed and ill-arranged houses. It cannot be denied that, philosophically viewed, the conception of city architect as such involves a lofty connotation which might justify all the big things said of him. But the humdrum imperfect reality, as most things unfortunately are, of the Calcutta city architect did not answer to this connotation. It was in the best sense of the term a sinecure, a mere ornamental capital to the elaborate column of District Engineers, which has been dispensed with, to the detriment of the theoretic completeness of the Municipal administration no doubt, but without any practical injury to the city and in fact much to the relief of the anxious official who has to make the two ends of his Budget meet.

Anxious forebodings are ripe with respect to the future of the Calcutta High Court. Between themselves, the
The Calcutta High Court Anglo-Indian papers have been throwing the ball to one another. The *Empire* is alarmed at the idea of the cutting up of the High Court. The *Indian Daily News* quietly puts in a paragraph which seems to show that it has had some occult information that a project is in the air to establish a High Court or a Chief Court at Dacca. The *Pioneer* takes up the cue and says that it could not but be a High Court, for Lord Curzon gave his word to the Chamber of Commerce that it should be a High Court. Some of our Anglo-Indian friends have been playing with the idea thinking that it would be, as the *Empire* puts it "one in the eye of the agitator." Certainly it would be, but the agitator has at any rate this consolation that, as the same paper points out, 'one in the eye of the Anglo-Indian, too. As a matter of fact, however, it is clear that if the Partition of Bengal remains a settled fact, it must also be taken to be a settled fact that a High Court will some day be established in East Bengal. For the system of dual administration which leaves the hand of the judiciary at Calcutta and takes the executive to Dacca is fraught with plenty of inconvenience to the Government, specially with respect to its law officers with reference to the appointment of Civilian Judges to the High Court. It is quite easy to conceive that the Government of East Bengal and Assam may one day come to be at loggerheads with the Advocate-General and the Legal Remembrancer of Bengal or perhaps with the Government of Bengal on one or other of these matters. The break-up of the High Court would then be a matter of necessity for the Government and when it is so,

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BENGAL.)

it will be carried out, no matter how much people might protest. With this philosophic conclusion United Bengal is content to rest at present.

The amazing general rise of prices of food-grains in Bengal of late has been the cause of complaint almost everywhere and the man in the street in his own empirical fashion has lost no time in finding some reasons for this. The swadesi-boycott movement was at first saddled with the responsibility and it was suggested that European merchants were trying to produce a corner in grains in retaliation of the loss that was inflicted on them by the swadesi movement. The increasing production of jute on the other hand has been the favourite theory for a very long time. The former theory obtained much currency specially in view of the extensive exportation of rice and cereals which went on very largely in spite of the high prices and in view of the energetic endeavours made of late by some export agencies to considerably extend their field of operations by sending out agents to hitherto unfrequented *hats* and bazars. If there was this much of truth in this theory, the other seems to have had next to nothing in fact to support it, as would appear from Mr. Oldham's *Note on the High Prices of Food-grains*, published in the *Calcutta Gazettee* of the 11th September. If jute-growing affected food-grains, the price of other staples not produced in Bengal would not rise much ; but while rice has risen 58%, the price of wheat is 26% and that of maize 70% in excess of previous average. Mr. Oldham points out that though the area under jute has increased considerably that under rice has not correspondingly decreased. But this does not answer the whole argument, for it shows that the area under rice has not increased while the population has, and it fails to take account of the startling fact that the yield of crops per acre has considerably declined of late. Then, for another matter, Mr. Oldham has not had the opportunity to take into consideration facts in E. B. where the bulk of the world's jute is grown. Still it must be said that Mr. Oldham's report to a large extent knocks out the bottom of the theory that jute cultivation is responsible for the high price of food-grains. Mr. Oldham's theory that the rise of prices is due to the improved standard of living of the cultivator would require more proof than he has cared to adduce.

East Bengal and Assam has been comparatively quiet except for four cases of a rather sensational nature. At Dinajepur, two European representatives of a Calcutta firm have been severely handled. The Civil

Eastern Bengal
Affairs

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Surgeon of Comilla was pushed into a deep river while walking on its steep bank. At Dacca three local men were stabbed and one mortally. In each of these cases, students are said to be implicated, though the procedure of the Police is exciting considerable suspicion. At Serajgunge, the sub-divisional officer, Mr. Anislie has created a muddle by a most arbitrary and injudicious interference in a dispute between some Marwari jute merchants and their labourers and has gone to the length of arbitrarily arresting a respectable merchant. All these cases are before law courts and we withhold our comments on them till they are done with.

Some of the very unpleasant after-tastes of the political bunglings of the Government have been meanwhile coming to light. The Lieutenant-Governor of E. B. and A. in reviewing the history of crime in the Province has had to make the humiliating admission that, since the Partition of Bengal, crime—not political but honest genuine crime—has been fearfully increasing in the province, whereas the tendency in the years proceeding the partition was for crime to grow very much less every year. The reason for it is that the Police could not be spared for the only purpose for which they exist, to detect crimes—they were so busy in suppressing *swadeshim*. There is another reason of course—the scarcity—but even the Government has not ventured to lay the whole blame on its ungrudging shoulders. It is high time, one would think that the government should ask the Police to mind their own business and leave *swadeshists* alone as the *swadeshists* are willing to leave them. But that is far from being the attitude of government if it is to be judged by the news that comes from Barisal. There, instead of their usual and very esteemable functions, the policemen are being engaged to put up stalls for the sale of English goods in bazars. Meanwhile the public pays them for something else.

After all there are some judges in the country who can be relied upon to do justice. This has been shown by two of the most sensational cases of the last month. In the gunshot case in connection with the Jamalpur outrages, in which a young men named Prokash Chandria Dutt was charged, the Sessions Judge of Mymensingh. has acquitted the accused. The other case was the notorious one in which a Muktear and Municipal Commissioner of Howrah Case Howrah who happened to be in the bad books of the Municipal executive had been prosecuted on a trumped up case of cheating. On appeal the Sessions Judge of Hooghly has

set aside the conviction and sentence, disbelieving and strongly criticising all the evidence that was adduced for the prosecution. The Howrah Municipality has been the home of scandals of late and Babu Nityadhone—the Commissioner in question, was a very severe critic and exposé. His conviction might have given the executive clique free hand, and it speaks volumes for the impartiality of the judge that he has been let off in spite of the great sensation that the case created.

The ‘scheme of reforms’ which the Government of India has published, as well as the ‘reforms’ which Mr. Morley has been carrying out in England, has been received in Bengal in a spirit of philosophic unconcern. The scheme of reform of the Councils has been conceived with such patent desire to oust the independent educated community and to supplant them by people who have given ample evidence of their aggressive loyalty that the people have been seriously asking if there is any good in making protests. That not one petition will go forth from Bengal in protest is almost certain. Equally certain is the silent indignation and contempt with which these reactionary proposals are treated by the people. Mr. Morley has thoroughly identified himself with the Indian bureaucracy and the people of Bengal cherish no more any hopes of any concession or justice coming from the Indian Secretary.

The indignation is also universal over Mr. Morley’s own proposals relating to the India Council. I have never understood what earthly good the presence of a few Indian members in the India Council could do, it was such an absurd and anomalous body. But people have asked for it ; it was one of Mr. Gokhale’s fads, and it was adopted by the Congress. Mr. Morley acceded to their proposals with a promptitude that was amazing and that ought to have been suspicious. But by the choice that he has made he has given a smart slap to the Congress people. Mr. K. G. Gupta’s attitude while in service was so notorious that he would be about the last person on whom the people would care to waste their confidence. Mr. Bilgrami too does not happen to be unknown to Calcutta. These appointments only confirm the growing impression that Mr. Morley has the knack of finding out the exact names and things which educated India have reasons to look with profound suspicion. And what amount of powder and shot has not been spent to see such ‘reforms’ carried out ?

Geschichtsmacher

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST

1907

Date

4. King Edward contributes one hundred guineas to the Clive Memorial fund.
5. A Loyalty Manifesto is issued over the signature of some zemindars and noblemen of Bengal.
6. Mr. Morley states in the House of Commons that a special committee is considering some important questions regarding the well-being of young Indians in England.
7. The second anniversary of the *Swadeshi* movement is celebrated all over Bengal. In the Commons a full-dress debate takes place over the India Council Bill the third reading of which is passed by the House.
8. In the Bloomfield murder case J J. Mitter and Fletcher of the Calcutta High Court reduce the sentence of death and transportation passed upon the accused by the Sessions Judge of Muzaffarpur to three and seven years imprisonment only.
9. Pandit Bishambarnath dies at Allahabad.
13. At an important meeting in Bombay, fifty lakhs of rupees are subscribed on the spot for the Tata Iron Project.
14. The Telegraph Administration Report is published at Simla by Sir Sydney Hutchinson.
15. The accused in the sensational shooting case of Comillah are discharged by JJ. Mitter and Fletcher of the Calcutta High Court.
16. A punitive police is stationed at Rawalpindi. An important Government Resolution in connection with the Excise Committee's Report is issued at Simla.
18. King Edward's letter to H.E. Lord Minto expressing sympathy with the plague-stricken people of India is published in an extra-ordinary Gazette at Simla.
19. The first Conference in connection with industrial education in the U.P meets at Nainital under the presidency of Sir John Hewett.
20. The Bishop of Lahore administers a stinging rebuke to the campaign of vilification against educated India.
22. In the Commons Mr. Morley announces the terms of reference to the Decentralisation Commission.
24. Mr. Morley's reform scheme is published. The Madras Educational Conference opens under the presidency of Sir Benson.
26. A new gold-field is discovered in Mysore.
27. Mr. Morley appoints Messrs K. G. Gupta and Syed Hossain Bilgrami to be Members of the India Council in London.
28. In proroguing Parliament, King Edward refers to India in connection with the so-called reforms of Mr. Morley.
30. The Punjab Chief Court sanctions the creation of Advocates from among local pleaders.
31. The accused Prakash in the Jamalpur gunshot case is acquitted by the Sessions Judge of Mymensingh.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

**MOVING
BACKWARDS** It is the sorriest spectacle in the twentieth-century world of politics—the complete hypnotisation of Mr. John Morley by ‘the traditions of oriental polity.’ Mr. John Morley has been a stout Little Englander, a most prominent anti-Imperialist, a pro-Boer, an advanced Radical, and one of the most sincere exponents of democratic ideas. As the editor of *The Fortnightly Review* and of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, as the biographer of Burke, Walpole and Gladstone, as a political philosopher and disciple of Mill, and as a friend of John Bright and admirer of the French Encyclopædists, Mr. John Morley has inspired nearly two generations of Englishmen with the highest principles of political liberty and representative government. For such a man to turn an autocrat in the evening of his life, to go back upon the principles of his youth and maturity, and to accept, and act upon, the social and hereditary distinctions of Asiatic life is indeed one of the most painful political transformations that the present generation has witnessed. Even the friendly *Outlook* has been constrained to admit that “the Fate that has dogged Mr. Morley’s footsteps at Whitehall has been most unkind.” Unkind with vengeance, indeed.

If any proof were needed to substantiate the proposition laid down above, it would be supplied by the Circular which has been issued by the Government of India, dated Simla, August 24, to all Local and Provincial Administrations in the country at the instance of Mr. John Morley. A more disingenuous document has not been published from the headquarters of any civilised government in the world for many a long day for, under the cover of ‘reform,’ it is the most insidious attempt ever made to protect the bureaucracy against the attack and criticism of the leaders of responsible public opinion.

The Circular is a double-edged weapon which cuts both ways. It proposes, though not in so many words, to curtail the predominance and influence of the educated classes on the one side and accentuate religious and social differences on the other. It takes away with the one hand many of the privileges that the India Councils Act of 1892 conferred upon the informed and advanced sections of the people and gives them with the other to such classes as are still incapable of understanding what politics

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means or comprehending the responsibility which citizenship involves. Instead of widening the basis of the educated electorate or popular franchise, the Circular seeks to invest certain classes and communities with an amount of importance which is quite out of proportion to their educational fitness or political influence. It is also evident that while, in one or two places in the Circular, an anxiety is expressed to know the mind of India, the authors of it are afraid to appeal directly to the masses because the Government of India have hitherto carefully kept out the light of knowledge from their humble doors. There are some shabby flings in the Circular against 'lawyers, journalists and schoolmasters' and an undeserved laudation of hereditary landowners as 'the natural leaders of the Indian society,' who are set up as a counterpoise to the professional classes. Above all, by seeking to extend legislative recognition to all sorts of religious, social and caste distinctions, the Circular lays the axe on the growing solidarity of the Indian people and the spirit of a common nationality which is now stirring the dry bones in the valley throughout the land.

The scheme propounded in the Circular begins by acknowledging 'the advance that has taken place' within the last 20 years 'in the development of the educated classes,' the anxiety of the landowning class 'to be offered an opportunity of expressing its views on matters of practical administration' and the 'difficulty encountered by the Governments in India in making their measures and motives understood, and in correcting erroneous and often mischievous statements of fact or purpose imputed to them,' and proceeds to put forward some proposals to meet the above changed condition of things by establishing an Imperial, and some Provincial, Advisory Councils, intended to be entirely distinct from the legislative bodies, increasing the strength of the existing Councils of the Empire 'to the fullest extent compatible with the necessary authority of the Government,' and ultimately by introducing some rules affording 'a far greater opportunity for systematic criticism of the Budget than exists under present arrangements.'

When Lord Ripon conferred upon the people of India a certain measure of local self-government nearly a quarter of a century ago, it was believed to be the first of a series of steps which would ultimately lead on to representative government in India. When 20 years ago, Lord Dufferin discussed the advisability of granting some more concessions to the educated people of India, he urged upon the partial and cautious adoption of the principle of election in the administration of India. When 3 years after, Lord Lansdowne



WYRLEY IN INDIA—MR. MORLEY AS MAIMER
Mr. Morley is assiduously engaged in 'maiming' the Indian Legislature.

submitted some further proposals on the subject, he suggested that the members of the Councils 'ought to have, under proper safeguards, the right of addressing questions to the Government on matters of public interest.' When the India Councils Bill was passing through the House of Commons in 1892, several very prominent politicians took part in the debates over it. One of them, Mr. Gladstone, in according his support to the Bill on its second reading, held out a distinct promise that it would not be very long before a 'real living representation' could be granted to the people of India. All these statesmen were anxious to take the people into their confidence and widen their privileges; none of them were afraid of a frank and full criticism of the measures of the Government in the Council Chambers of the Empire. Though the Viceroys of India at the close of the last century proceeded cautiously, there can be no doubt that they at least advanced *forwards*. It was, however, during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon that the pendulum of progress was swung back and a sort of active hostility shown to the educated community and their aspirations. The ground thus prepared, Lord Minto has found no difficulty to come forward with proposals which leave no manner of doubt that the Government of India are now afraid of the outlook and are anxious to retrace their steps *backwards*. The sort of nervous apprehension of the influence of the educated classes which the Circular betrays may be expedient for the purpose of reaction and repression, but it is not statesmanship, nor consonant with the best traditions of British rule in India.

The Government of India notes the rapid development of the educated classes only to withdraw the confidence it has hitherto placed upon them, and takes away some of the privileges which have so long been exclusively enjoyed by them by reason of their intellectual equipment. The Advisory Councils are created, besides for consultative purposes, 'to make the motives and intentions of the Government better known, to correct mis-statements, and to remove erroneous impressions.' In all civilised countries, all this is done by means of interpellations which, we learn, has failed to justify the anticipations of Lord Lansdowne, because, as the official paper has it, the meetings of the Legislative Councils 'are too infrequent to offer the means of confidential and intimate consultation between Government and its subjects and the strict procedure by which they are restrained naturally tends to formality.' So, instead of modifying the procedure which is responsible for this failure and insisting upon more frequent meetings of the existing

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Councils, methods which would naturally suggest themselves to any rational government as the best solution of the difficulty, the Simla Circular proposes to effect the desired 'free and close consultation' by instituting fresh Councils which 'would receive no legislative sanction nor be vested with formal powers of any sort' nor have many opportunities for 'collective deliberations.' Like Mr. Morley's 'official conscience,' this must be official logic.

Instead, therefore, of conferring any *further* rights or privileges upon the classes which have given "indubitable proof of their intellectual fitness," instead of devising any means even for the more satisfactory working of the District Boards and the Municipalities, instead of granting a larger measure of local self-government to the people—things which educated India has been *eagerly* looking forward to for the last ten years and more,—the Government of India have now come forward to reduce representative and local self government to their minimum usefulness and to neutralise the influence and independence of the intellectual classes by setting the landowners against them. The official Circular makes no secret of the motive of the Government on the subject, and the fact that it has been thought necessary to pit one class against another and one religion against another religion to 'satisfy the constitutional requirements of the Indian Empire' clearly indicates what is in the mind of the Government.

We would concede the principle of representation of minorities and would very much welcome the presence of intelligent landowners and Mahometans in the provincial, and even in the Imperial, Legislative Councils, but we would warn the Government against the policy of setting off one class of members against another merely as 'counterpoises.' No progressive Legislature in the world could be worked on such a principle. The House of Commons could not be run for a single day on the principle of counterpoises and set-offs. It is no doubt true that in Ireland the Orangemen and Protestants have their separate representation in the House, but they are there not to counteract the influence of the Roman Catholic majority but to guard the special interests of their own communities. The principle of the representation of minorities is a necessary safeguard in such Legislatures as have to deal with the interests of a heterogeneous people, and those of our contemporaries which have taken exception to the election or nomination of landowners and Mahometans as such to seats in the Imperial and the Provincial Councils have done not only a great injustice to the

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

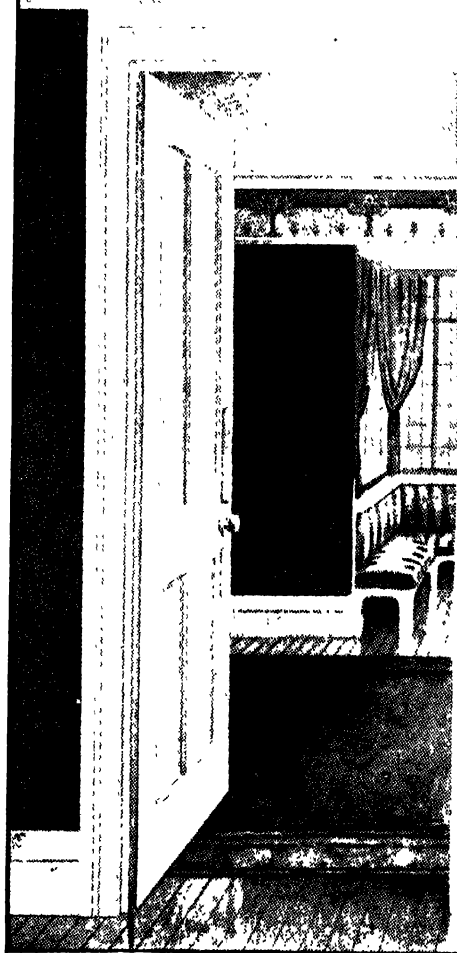
Government of India but also to an established principle of politics. And as for the Government, our quarrel with it is not about *principle* but about the *motive* and the *procedure*. Once you accept the principle of election, you ought not to interfere with the *manner* of it. It is no business of the State to make inquiries as to how many pleaders or school-masters are elected to this or that Council, so long as you do not find that they are *unworthy* of the suffrages of their countrymen. The people will elect whomsoever they please as their representatives, and no government that concedes the principle of election has any right to grumble at the people's choice. Whenever a government, therefore, is found anxious to neutralise the people's influence by introducing counterpoises to it, it can at once be concluded that that government is *embarrassed* by popular election and is eager to avail of a way out of the difficulty. And this is exactly the position in which the Anglo-Indian Government finds itself to-day. By conceding to the people some sort of a popular franchise, the white Brahmins of India think they have raised a Frankenstein which can only be controlled by raising *another* to cope with it. It is this motive which seems to have induced the Government of India to pit the landowners against the middle classes and Mahometans against Hindus, and *not* because it has suddenly awakened to a sense of duty and justice regarding its treatment of our Mahometan fellow-brethren or of the 'territorial magnates of the land.' And it is this sort of diplomacy that we protest against, and not against the principle of representation of minorities.

The scheme under notice has been hailed by the leading London papers, including the *Times*, as one calculated to bridge the chasm 'between a Government which is, and must inevitably remain, absolute and personal, and a people of whose mind that Government can often know but little and who themselves know so very little of the mind of the Government.' If such a hope is seriously entertained in any quarter, we must say that it is bound to be disappointed in no time. A House of Peers, call it an Imperial Council or Chamber of Notables, has nowhere on the face of the earth been the proper interpreter of the wishes of the people and in every case has stood in the way of progress and development. The English House of Lords has failed to bridge the chasm between the people and the government, and has done nothing else all these centuries but giving a long rope to feudalism. It is the height of folly to create institutions in India which in England have proved detrimental to the best interests of the people at large. Still more silly is it to create a Gilded Chamber

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in India at a time when the very party which is doing it is trying its level best to do away with its model in England. Perhaps we shall be told, as we are *often* told, that Asiatic conditions are quite different from European, and what is sauce to the goose may not be sauce to the gander. This is a sort of an argument which is more esoteric than rational and is always advanced to do duty for common-sense and logic. We are inclined to believe that human nature is nearly the same everywhere and that institutions which fail in one part of the world have hardly much chance of success elsewhere. Feudalism is dying in Europe and the thin line of demarcation between aristocracy and democracy is vanishing away everywhere in the Western world. In India too the death-knell of aristocracy has been sounded, thanks to English education, and it would be churlish to make any attempt to resuscitate it. Aristocrats and noblemen are judged in India at the present day, like any other class of people, by the standard of education, culture and independence they possess and not by the 'material stake' they have in the country. Excepting the Government of India, no one who knows the peculiar constitution of Indian society would ever seriously believe that the landowners represent 'the most powerful and stable elements in it.' Any attempt on the part of the Government to induce the people to accept the landowners as their 'natural leaders' is bound to recoil upon it. Like the days of chivalry, the days of gold and plush are gone,—gone for good. A wave of democracy is sweeping over the world at the present day and its force has even reached the shores of India. Canute-like, Mr. Morley will soon discover that the rising wave is no respecter of persons and makes no difference between the East and the West. So, instead of helping the Indian administration with any real aid or stimulus, Mr. Morley is trying to raise a factor which is bound to prove one day, as it has proved in England already, a great clog on the wheel of progress. If the powers that be had really been sincere well-wishers of India, they would not have devised a scheme which can serve no *other* purpose than stand between the Government and the people and neutralise the forces of public opinion. The people would no more trust them than the Government would trust the people, and instead of 'bridging the chasm' or removing 'injurious prejudices and misconceptions' on both sides, the new scheme would only serve to alienate the great bulk of the Indian population *further* from an alien and unsympathetic rule. We hope Mr. Morley will heed this warning in time.

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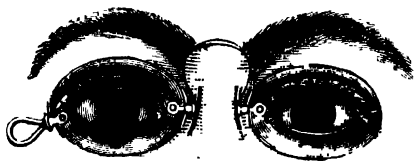
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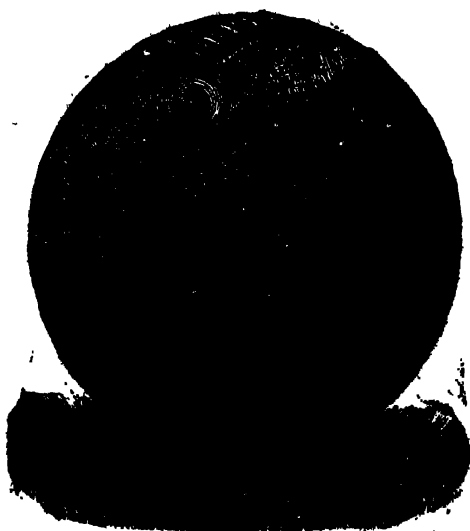
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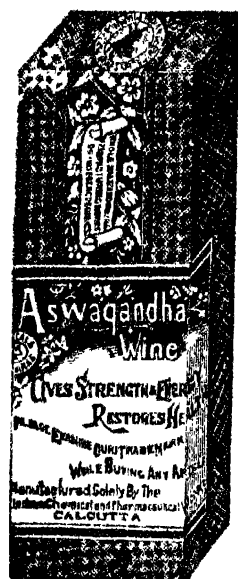
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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. VI]

OCTOBER, 1907

[No. 31

CANADA AS AN OBJECT-LESSON TO INDIA

In India, little or nothing is known of Canada. Indians who are familiar with the works of Rudyard Kipling doubtless have read his poem : "Our Lady of the Snows." No matter what its literary merits may be, broadly speaking, this poem conveys an unfair impression. It is unjust to judge Canada by this fragmentary piece of literature.

Baring Kipling's works, hardly any allusion is made to Canada and her people in the books popularly read in Hindustan. Indian newspapers and periodicals rarely print items regarding the Dominion. School books, histories, geographies and atlases incorporate but the merest suggestions regarding this country, her resources and people. These descriptions are of such an elementary nature that little information can be gleaned from them.

Accounts in Indian publications of the trials and struggles of Indian immigrants in Canada attracted some attention to that land. From these writings, however, little can be learned about the character of the country and its people.

Canada is wealthy in agricultural, forest, fruit and mineral resources and fisheries. It is peopled with progressive men and women. Their history, though not very ancient, contains many object-lessons for Hindustan. The present article proposes to deal with one of these.

On his first arrival in Canada, a newcomer unwittingly causes ineffable pain to some of his Canadian friends. Unacquainted with the state of affairs prevailing on the western continent, he is apt to refer to Canadian institutions as "American." He takes it for granted that the people of Canada residing, as they do, on the American continent, are as much American as citizens of the United States.

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It does not take him long to become disillusioned. He soon learns that the inhabitants of the United States of America, instead of calling themselves "U. S. A.—icans", arrogate to themselves the term "American". Thus, in order to preserve his individual existence—his national entity—the resident of Canada is forced to take recourse to the term "Canadian," and resents being spoken of as an adjunct of the "blustering, bluffing" Yankee.

Canadians essentially are patriotic. They intensely are loyal to the country in which they live and work. They have abundant faith in the resources of their land and talk about its coming greatness in a way that causes the listener to "sit up and take notice."

Canadian patriotism is of an intensely virile kind. It stirs and sways Canadians. At times it fairly stings people—but that happens merely incidentally. To the credit of the Canadian it may be said that he is not fond of flaunting the love of his country in too aggressive a spirit. Cases are on record where an exhibition of patriotism brought about a clash between Canadians and Americans ; but such instances are rare, and more and more are growing rarer. Moreover, altercations such as these are due, in a measure at least, to the patronizing attitude of the Yankee who, in the exuberance of patriotic zeal, attempts to "bully" or "bluff" the Canadian.

The Canadian's love for his land is not a superficial sentiment. It wells up from the very depths of his heart. It is woven and interwoven with the fabric of his being. It is part of himself. Patriotism has a peculiar significance in Canada. It truly is Canadian—speaking strictly.

In his poem entitled "Canada, Our Hope And Pride," the patriotic poet, Frank Lawson of London, Canada, reflects the sentiment characteristic of his people :

"We may be proud of Canada. Who is n't of his home ?
We're glad to sing the praises of the land from which we come.
But we had very nigh forgot, amid the festive cheer,
That we had left our native land, and dreamed our home was here.

But now you've set us thinking, a haze comes o'er the view,
And we strain our eyes with longing look across the briny blue
And see again that little place that no commercial worth
Can value ; for to us it is the dearest spot on earth.

We would be proud of Canada, though she had known no past,
And though Dame Fate no horoscope upon her future cast.
Though we were simple farmer folk, without acknowledged place,
And artisans and tradesmen of some ignoble race ;
We still would feel a glory in the record standing forth
The annals of that youthful land of truemen of the North.

There was Jewish blood in Nazareth—view not history askance—
London is not all of England—Paris is not all of France—
And when Britain realizes that the blood of every part
Of the body is as pure as that which surges through the heart—

CANADA AS AN OBJECT-LESSON TO INDIA

When her statesmen scorn traditions that as stumbling blocks have stood,
And will frame their legislation for a world-wide Empire's good,
She will meet her distant subjects—noble, loyal, true and tried,
And will know our fair Dominion—Canada—her hope and pride."

This intense patriotic spirit is instrumental in exterminating many vagaries. It renders it impossible for the Englishman settled in Canada to refer to England as his "home." To do so would make him the butt of his hearer's sarcasm. The English settler in Canada calls England his "old country." He entertains sentiments of goodwill toward that country ; but Canada is now his home—his country. Therefore his single-hearted devotion is given to Canada.

Englishmen or individuals of any other nation or country who cannot exhibit patriotism which causes them to refer to their motherland, their place of birth, as their "old Country," giving to her a secondary place in their affections, bestowing on Canada, their present and future home, the first position in their feelings and thoughts, have not been leavened with the genuine Canadian spirit. They are not considered good Canadians. "N. G."—no good—is the appellation Canadians give to folks such as these. Usually they live to learn better. Such as are set in their ways of thinking and have not adjustability to transform themselves, at least to the extent of giving Caesar his due, after a few years of residence in Canada, drift back to their "home land"—or enjoy the bounty of Canada without giving back an adequate or just return.

From the foregoing, it must not be concluded that Canadian patriotism essentially means sundering bonds with England or the British Empire. On the contrary, Canadians are loyal Britishers—respect England and love the Empire. Mark the Canadian poet's words:

" But we were born of British stock—are kith and kin to those
By whose brain and nerve and muscle the British Empire rose."

However, love for England or respect for the Empire does not have that reign over their hearts that they would permit England's expansion or the Empire's advancement at the expense of their country. In a word, the Canadian thinks first of Canada, her weal and progress and then of the Empire. Such is the essence of Canadian spirit.

To this Canada is indebted for her advancement, development and progress. On it hinges the future of Canada. Essentially, this is Canada's pivotal point.

In this Canadian spirit, the Englishman's inordinate desire for the industrial advancement of England, for the expansion of the

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British Empire, by fair means or foul, regardless of even the interests of the members of his own Empire, finds an effectual check. Canadian patriotism makes it impossible for England to expand at Canada's expense. England has tried and still wishes to make a greater industrial and imperial Britain possible by stunting the growth of Canada—but the Dominion does not, will not, permit it.

If England could have her way today, Canada like India would exclusively be engaged in producing raw materials such as cereals and meats, leather and hides, and shipping them to England to feed its workmen and capitalists. Its raw materials would be turned into finished goods, making it possible for manufacturers, merchants, brokers, lawyers, financiers, railroad and navigation corporations to fatten themselves by dwarfing and stunting the growth of Canada.

Canada knows better than to do this. Canada "stands pat." Canada refuses to be bled to death.

The Canadians set their teeth and vehemently say : " By God ! We will protect our country from the depredations of foes of every kind—from one who frankly avows enmity—also from the cunning wretch whose guileful designs are disguised by professions of kinship and love. Our love for the old country cannot, will not, persuade us to allow her advancement at the expense of Canada, Our Hope and Pride."

It is good, both for Canada and England, that the Canadians are imbued with such spirit. England's true glory consists in not swelling her size by feeding on the vitals of Canada. It ought to be her pride and pleasure to contribute towards Canada's development. It is fortunate that the Dominion possesses an admirable and invincible spirit which proves a sort of corrective for and curbs the desire of England to rise in the scale of nations by holding down Canada. Such a policy would be suicidal to the Canadian Dominion—disgraceful to England and the British Empire.

Owing to the presence of this spirit of independence and patriotism, Canada is forging ahead with marvellous rapidity. Her home and foreign trade is expanding. Her commerce is increasing. Her granaries are being more and more occupied and utilized. Every year an increased output of wheat, barley, corn and hay pushes itself on the market. Canada's mineral, fruit and forest resources are receiving greater attention and being explored and exploited with vigor and zeal. Manufactures of various kinds are being established throughout the length and breadth of the land and are being multiplied with incredible rapidity. Lakes, falls, rivers and

CANADA AS AN OBJECT-LESSON TO INDIA

creeks are being pressed into service in order to yield "power" to run street and electric railroads, mills and factories. In every department of life Canadians are pushing to the front—endeavoring to check all kinds of waste—to provide every opportunity and facility to the rising generation to develop the resources, expand trade and commerce, enlarge industries, make the most of mines, woods, fruit-bearing trees and agricultural lands.

The "go-ahead-ness" of the people of Canada is remarkable. Canadians are in no way inferior to Americans in this respect. The American excels the Canadian in "enterprise"; but the "enterprise" of the Yankee many times degenerates into recklessness. The Canadian is more cautious—he is less prepared to take the chances—in many instances he wants to "sleep over-night on a proposition" before finally accepting it. He, however, makes this up by his "stick-to-it-iveness." Unlike his American brother the Canadian is less prone to indulge in flurry. Undoubtedly, for equal bulk of business, fewer Canadian business men entail physical or nervous break-downs than Americans—nervous prostration being directly traceable to eternal and uncalled-for hustle rather than to over-work. In a word, the Canadian business man goes about his work with more calmness and less "bustle and bluff". Nevertheless, "go-ahead-ness" and "push" prominently are discernable in Canada. They not only appear on the surface but permeate the whole man.

Mr. Nanabhai Dayabhai Daru, B. Sc., B. A., A. R. S. M., Bar-at-Law, who at present is attached to the Geological Survey of Canada, writing in the *Canadian Engineer*, giving his impressions of Canada, says in relation to this :

"What struck me most at first was the go-ahead character of this new country ; so much in contrast to the conditions in the old ones. For instance, I have seen in Canada a small town of less than a thousand inhabitants, supplied with water-works, a drainage system, electric lights and three banks working throughout the week. I have known larger towns in England where a bank did business for three hours every Friday morning; where the streets did not have the luxury of even petroleum lamps ; and where the nearest public telephone office was twelve miles away. In a country like India, for such a "town", waterworks etc., or even metalled streets would be out of the question".

This "go-ahead-ness" also is visible in the manner in which Canadians provide educational facilities for their children of both sexes. The government and people, collectively and severally, have

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done all in their power to frame and give effect to a sane, judicious and practical educational policy. Colleges with extensive series of connecting buildings, universities ranking with the greatest on this Continent or beyond the seas, have been established. Technical, agricultural and industrial schools have sprung up in different parts of the country and are conducted along lines which would redound to the glory of nations twice or thrice as old as Canada. A network of primary and high schools, manual training schools providing carpentering and smithing classes for boys and sewing and cooking classes for girls, has been established from one coast to the other. Primary education is free and compulsory. Even the prairie regions, where the houses are few and scattered, are generously provided with rural schools. A thorough and extended investigation of the educational systems of the different provinces of Canada convinces that in a short time the Canadian boy and girl will have educational facilities second to none in the world.

It is instructive to study the difficulties against which the Canadian educator and education-legislator have to contend. The people of Canada are of a heterogeneous character. The population is composed of diverse elements. There are differences of more than one kind, of creed, color, race and nationality.

The term "Canadians" always brings to mind the dish "hash." For the benefit of those who are not acquainted with it, it may be stated that this dish is composed of the leavings—odds and ends of several kinds of meats and vegetables. "Hash" is but another name for a heterogeneous mess.

English, French, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Russian, Christian, anti-Christian, Catholic, Protestant, Free-thinker, Agnostic and Atheist—all these and many others compose this "hash" known as "Canadians."

Not long ago the French and English Canadians were cutting each other's throats. Even to-day jealousies exist between these two large sections of Canadians.

These difficulties have been and are being perseveringly and judiciously surmounted. Education is teaching the Canadian children that, despite their differences, they ought to feel a pride for their common country and an interest for its general welfare which should bind them all together as one people.

A frequent expression on the lips of every true Canadian is, "the greatest country in the world." A traveler in Canada hardly will find a Canadian institution as the "greatest in the world"—or,

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triumphantly and confidently predicting that his country is destined to have the greatest future.

Exaggeration of this sort does not break any bones. It only indicates that the people of the Dominion are proud of their country and institutions—that a systematic effort is made to propagate patriotism among them.

Everywhere in the Dominion love for flag and country is in evidence. The Maple Leaf, the ensign of Canada, is prominent on all sides. Men and women take a great pride in wearing flaglets on their coats and jackets. They carry them in their hands and adorn the inside and outside of their houses on ordinary and festive occasions. So great is the love for the flag that brawls have taken place in Canada on account of Americans insisting upon parading their national emblem instead of the Canadian "Maple Leaf."

Inside and outside the schools everything is done calculated to inspire love of country in the hearts of the young of both sexes. "There was a mighty wise little woman," writes the editor of a leading paper, "I once heard of, who had a way of inventing many odd devices to inspire her children with a fervent love of their country. 'Your country and you are one,' the mother would say, 'you cannot rejoice yourself and leave her out.' She taught her smallest child this reverence for the country. When she played the evening song for them to sing around the piano, the last notes they carried to their bed with them were the notes of the National hymn. And never they were taught, no matter where they were, must they hear that song unless they stood with their caps and hats off. The little mother went to her last sleep years ago and her sons, now sane and intelligent men, are not blind to the faults of their country. But Canada is their mother. They had been taught to love her. They never will disgrace her, depend upon that. They have that patriotism which is one of the strongest forces to uplift a human soul."

Results of teachings like these always are gratifying. As time goes on, more and more the French Canadian is feeling disposed to forget that his ancestors came from France—that he speaks a different language—that his religion is not the same as that of the Canadian whose forefathers came from England—that bitter recrimination and jealousy existed at one time between England and his "old country"—that, in fact, the fires of animosity still are smouldering.

On the other hand, the English Canadian is eliminating some of his snobbery—trying to eradicate imperiousness from his character. More and more he feels the foolishness of believing as a part of his

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religion that the Englishman will dominate the world on the principle of the "survival of the fittest." He realises that belief in "divine right" is too arrogant and old-fashioned a dogma to be permitted to exist in this century.

More and more Frenchmen and Englishmen residing in Canada show a disposition to meet each other half-way, to unite and pull together as Canadians.

The spirit is "catching." It is communicating itself to all kinds and conditions of Canadians. It is touching to witness the patriotism exhibited by some phlegmatic Dutchman, or stolid Swede, or effervescent Italian, who but a few months ago came from Europe, tell in miserable, broken English, impossible almost to understand, of his love for his "home"—the Land of the Maple Leaf. An ineffably sweet thrill passes through the listener at the mention by the fledgling-Canadian of his loyalty to the land of his adoption and his genuine interest in "booming" Canada.

It is fortunate for the Dominion that Canadians are developing the "boom" spirit—the desire to advertise their country. The material resources of Canada are so varied and vast, and still barely touched, the population is so small and the climate so little understood in other parts of the world that any amount of advertising seems inadequate.

British Columbia, acknowledged to be the richest province of Canada, is most thinly populated. Its 395,610 square miles have but two hundred and fifty thousand residents according to the latest and most sanguine figures.

Recently the Canadians have taken in hand the advertising of their country. Already they have reduced the art of advertising to a science. Railroad, navigation and real estate companies, those who have to dispose of fruit-growing, forest, mineral and agricultural land, as well as the government, are making herculean efforts to acquaint the people of Europe with conditions in Canada.

In the Dominion, railroads are being pushed ahead of population. This is an entirely different phase of progress from that which anywhere or anytime else existed. When population is unloaded in trainloads in this country, which is new in every sense of the word, doubtless there will be some difficulty in getting the new comers settled. Once the immigrants are absorbed in horticulture, fisheries, mines, agriculture, forest-cutting and other industries, a great future is sure to dawn upon Canada.

The evidence is on every side that Canada in time is destined to grow extremely wealthy—not rich in the sense of mere dollars,

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but wealthy in its people, their manner of living, in the ideas which actuate them—wealthy in the widest sense of the word.

A careful survey of the situation and a thoughtful analysis of the industrial conditions both in India and Canada result in the conclusion that it would have been impossible for the Canadians to make the material progress which is the wonder of the world to-day but for their liberal, free, self governing institutions. The people could not have the incentive to strive nor the inclination to develop the country, nor could they take the pride they do in their land if they were not self-governing. Self-government impresses itself as the main spring of this marvelous development.

The creative power that brought us all into existence never would have given each human being a free will unless it was meant to be exercised. If this be true in regard to the individual, it must also be true in regard to that collection of individuals called a people or a nation.

It goes without saying that there must be organisation in that people or nation. Each free-will unit must give way to a degree for the general good. This implies a willingness and ability to submit the rights of the individual to the good of the whole community. Self government does not signify mere meek submission. It means law-making. It signifies executive power exercised by a representative chosen by free will "Deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The inherent right of the people to pass upon the actions of, and change, their representative—in other words, election—is fundamental for self-government.

What are the infallible tests for capacity for self-government? What country now enjoying self-government satisfied these tests before being entrusted with autonomous government? How was it ascertained? No country can be economically or efficiently governed unless the people have the power to employ checks where they find disappointment in results. The people alone can say whether the government is all they desire. The foreigner, howsoever well meaning, is there only for a time and for a purpose, and that purpose; his own. Ignorant of the language and feelings of the people, he cannot collate the data from which accurately to sound their needs and aspirations. It is better to make mistakes in self-government than be continually excluded from participation on the ground of supposed inability to self-government.

If the people of India wish to provide the opportunity, in the Canadian sense of the word, to their children, they must rest assured

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that no alien government can understand their wants and aspirations or will have the honesty of purpose to do so.

Only government of the people, by the people and for the people, will do this for India. And, Hindustan never will grow nor prosper until her children have the opportunity.

What Canada has done, what Canada is doing, what Canada hopes to accomplish, India can do and aspire to accomplish.

If, in Canada, peoples of all countries and nations can unite, forget their invidious distinctions of caste, color and creed, even of language and social customs, there yet is hope for India.

The most potent community of interest that binds together the discordant factors of the different sections of Canadians is that they live in the same country, that a good or bad administration, internal and external, is for the good or bad of all. Divided, they will fall, they feel ; united, they will stand. Thus it is that they pull together, entertain toleration for one another, and, sinking distinctions and differences, *as much as they can*, they make each other's weal and woe their own.

Saint Nihal Singh

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The interest of our landowners in the progress of agriculture is perhaps inferior to that of none in India. It is vital and supreme. In Bengal there are 916 estates in respect of each of which the landowners pay an annual Government revenues of Rs. 5,000 and upwards. They may, therefore, be classed as rich landholders. These gentlemen and noblemen have evinced no practical interest in the improvement of their estates, beyond what is just necessary to prevent them from actual deterioration. If all the zemindars of Bengal could associate for the purpose of starting a few agricultural associations in typical districts—districts widely varying in natural and physical characteristics—and would introduce improved methods of agriculture on scientific lines in the estates or portions of estates comprised in those districts, what a glorious vista of prosperity and wealth would open up before many years were over ! They have influence, they have leisure and, above all, they possess the power to create and promote an associative spirit among their tenants. If these are supplemented by an annual sum commensurate with their incomes, a complete and practical scheme of agricultural organisation could be inaugurated without difficulty. The British Indian Association of Calcutta, for example, numbers on its rolls some of the

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richest and most enlightened representatives of the landed aristocracy of the Province. Unfortunately, its activities are confined to political, civic or commercial topics : in fact, it embraces in its functions every conceivable subject of interest and importance with the exception of the one in which it is most vitally interested. From motives of self-interest, if not of patriotism, the members may find it advantageous to reconstruct the Association on a more economic basis and make a serious endeavour to improve and develop an industry, which, if scientifically conducted, will prove a highly profitable source of investment. Let me illustrate my point by an example : The gross area of the 916 considerable estates (excluding the petty ones) is about 40 million acres. If the productive capacity of an acre could be increased by six annas (i.e. 2 annas per bigha) the gross wealth of Bengal would be increased by one and a half crores of rupees. A larger increment in the productive capacity could, of course, result in a proportionate increase of wealth. Is this, I ask, too insignificant a gain to call forth the energy and enterprising spirit of our landlords, and is it too feeble a stimulant to create among them a spirit of co-operation ? I hope they will make an experiment : if they succeed, their prosperity and wealth will be the envy and applause of an industrial province ; if they fail, the loss will neither be ruinous nor irretrievable. Already foreign capital and enterprise have begun to enter the field of agricultural exploitation : in the Central Provinces, European capitalists have taken up the cultivation of sisal hemp, and a lease of Government forest land has been granted in the Sambalpur District for the purpose. It behoves the landowners of the country to arrest the further progress of the Europeanisation of agriculture and to prevent foreigners from a participation in the natural wealth of the country which legitimately belongs to her sons.

The means by which knowledge of the improved methods of agriculture can be disseminated are circumscribed by the peculiar conditions of the country. The foremost factor in this process is co-operation. In Ireland, whose case is closely analogous to that of India, and whose agriculture and domestic industries are the only sources of national wealth, the growth of a spirit of co-operation has achieved remarkably practical results within the last fifteen years. The country has emerged from her position of agricultural decadence and her complete subjection to the adverse and malignant influences of foreign competition, solely through the development of a national co-operative spirit. The spirit was roused by the economic propaganda spread by an earnest and

enthusiastic band of patriots who brought the movement into being. It has overcome the obstructive prejudices of the people, their apathy and their suspicions. The organisation of agricultural societies was the next step forward in the salvation of the depressed Irish farmer. My idea is that the British Indian Association of Calcutta and the Landholders' Association of Bankipore, as Central Boards, should organise an agricultural society in each district. These societies should enrol as its members the principal cultivating landholders of the locality, and should be presided over by the local Zemindar or *patnidar*. The functions of the society should be to disseminate, through an itinerant instructor or instructors, advanced ideas of scientific cultivation, illuminated by experiments where necessary. It should advise the people as to the best and most profitable crops,—both foreign and domestic—as to double crops, how soils suited to the culture of specially valuable plants may be prepared, how commercial products can be grown, and how gradually agricultural industries might be nurtured. It should also undertake to distribute, or sell on the easiest terms, the best quality of seeds and manures, and if possible, keep in stock selected kinds of improved agricultural implements or machinery both for experimental purposes and for loan to the villagers. It should grant subsidies or rewards for the successful culture of those products which add materially to the national wealth or solve an economic difficulty. It should also arrange to deliver lectures or give demonstrations in a popular style on the elementary principles of hygiene, domestic economy, thrift, cleanliness, and other subjects of practical interest or value. Other facilities might also be extended which would ensure to the riots success or encouragement in their humble occupation. Under the control and supervision of the society a dairy might be established at every important centre of population; and the society might also organise institutions for the promotion of industries subsidiary to agriculture, such as the preparation of banana fibre, and banana meal, of cocoanut butter, preservation of fruits or dairy produce for commercial purposes &c. The society under the auspices of the local or municipal Board should hold periodically an agricultural exhibition in which the fullest instruction and information regarding the exhibits should be supplied to the villagers or to their representatives. The all-India Agricultural Exhibition organised by the Indian National Congress has come to be regarded as an annual 'spectacular amusement,' and serves no useful purpose in the economy of rural life; whereas the sole and real object of an agricultural exhibition should be to

stimulate the active interest of the rural, and not of the urban, population, in the value and use of the exhibits. The Congress exhibitions are open to a limited class of visitors who can afford to purchase admittance ; and their influence as educative institutions does not reach the class for which they are specially held. The proposed District exhibitions, to which admittance should be free, should stimulate competition for the culture of products for which the soil and climate of the tract are specially fitted by nature, or which can be grown by specially scientific methods. No useful purpose is served by holding agricultural exhibitions in industrial centres. It must be remembered that agriculture is a rural, and manufactures are an urban, industry ; and that the village and the town are respectively favourable for the industry most congenial to each. The society should be financed by the State, the local or municipal board and the zemindar, who should contribute in fair shares. The agricultural banks referred to in the first article and the society should work on parallel lines—the one supplementing the work of the other.

The above are the bare outlines of a scheme for agricultural improvement, which, in my humble view, will be found suitable in this country. Agriculture, being the staple industry of 65 per cent of the population of India, is replete with immense possibilities for their welfare. Those who advocate industrial development as a substitute for agricultural, in promoting the material wealth of India, will be struck with the economic condition of the little kingdom of Denmark which is a living example of what agriculture and agricultural industries can achieve in the progress of national prosperity. The national wealth per head of population of Denmark is £230, against £247 of England, £224 of France, £216 of Holland, and £165 of Switzerland. In 1893, Denmark exported butter, eggs and bacon to the value of 8 millions ; to-day the value is over 15 millions. The remarkable strides which Denmark has made in these dairy products ought to convince our countrymen of the immense possibilities for Indian agricultural products. The Danish farmer lives a life of great simplicity, contentment and affluence. He has no debts beyond those incurred on the purchase of lands. “The younger men and women are well-dressed, *without finery*, being neatly and plainly attired in suitable clothes...The women appear to have no desire for silks, ribbons, or feathers, these being considered not only a luxury, but a waste of money, which might be more profitably employed.” “Diligence and industry seemed to be the keynote to every person’s work,—with the house-

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wife, cleanliness, order and comfort for her husband and family seemed to be her object." "The highest in the land are proud to associate with the humblest artizan or farm labourer in the consciousness that the outcome of such association will be to strengthen the intellectual energies of the nation, and elevate the wealth producer's conception of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship."* No poverty apparently exists in the country—poverty which is the inevitable accompaniment of the introduction of steam and electric power machinery; but there are a few cases of honest poverty in the towns. Denmark, from the above description, appears to be without exaggeration a little paradise of health, wealth and contentment set in our mundane earth. It exemplifies the remarkable fact that agriculture is capable of enriching a country without producing the evils of industrialisation—viz the poverty of the unemployed, the vices and miseries of factory life, the deceits and trickeries of trade, the lust for gold and the luxuries of civilisation. Rural life is free from turmoils and complexities, the battle and struggle of a ruthless and strenuous competition. In a rural community, there is wealth without greed, there is health without its demoralising luxuries, there is peace without idleness, there is contentment without want. If India is administered on these lines, she can be as happy, as wealthy, and as contented as Denmark.

India cannot afford, without greatly prejudicing her predominant interests, to suffer her agriculture to fall into neglect and decay, in the same way as great Britain did, when in pursuance of the Free Trade creed, she showed the seeds of the ultimate ruin of her agricultural prospects in order to protect her industries and expand her foreign commerce. The code of political economy applicable to great Britain must differ in essential points from the code applicable to India. The factors for reproducing wealth are land, labour and capital. In the one country land and labour are dear, but capital is cheap; in the other the first two are cheap, but capital is dear. There are also other wide divergences in the two countries in respect of their physical and political conditions. These considerations do not render a single code of economics either advantageous or suitable for both. If India even comes down from her agricultural eminence, she will have no world-wide industry to fall back upon as her national support; and I very much doubt if great Britain will come to her rescue if such a moment in her economic existence ever arrives.

I believe, and firmly too, that India's salvation is to be sought not in large manufacturing industries, but (1) in the development

* Bulletin No 7 of the Irish Department of Agriculture, 1905

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of agriculture and agricultural industries ; and (s) in the resuscitation of her indigenous arts and manufactures. The economic theory that the successful competition of India with such formidable industrial rivals as Great Britain, Germany, Japan or the United States, is possible at all times and under all circumstances, is the dream of enthusiastic patriots. It must not be forgotten that the commercial prosperity of Great Britain is the product of a combination of physical, moral and political circumstances which have not been witnessed in the history of India. "The most casual traveller through England to-day could hardly fail to remark that a very large part of national industry is concentrated in the northern counties....These northern counties where water power, as well as coal and iron, is to be found, have attracted to them the textile industries for which they afford both mechanism and power on the easiest terms." "Political, moral and industrial changes are closely interconnected and react on one another....Political views not only control the application of national wealth, but affect its increase. Industrial progress has often been stimulated by new political aims and conditions. Changes in the constitution of society, and in the police and foreign relations of the country, have given an altered framework to which our industry and commerce have time after time been forced to adapt themselves. The marriage of Edward III with Philippa, the severities of Alba, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had conspicuous results in England ; the aims of the Angevin's to set our towns free to carry on a prosperous trade ; the ambition of later days led to the formation of our colonists and the successful struggle for mercantile supremacy Our national polity is not the direct outcome of our economic conditions ; whereas, time after time, our industrial life has been directly and permanently affected by political affairs—and politics are more important than economics in English History."*

The climatic and physical characteristics of Great Britain have no less influenced her industries than politics. They are one of the determining factors of the conditions of labour. The inhabitants of a temperate country, where the necessities of life cannot be procured without great effort, and sometimes by conflict with nature, must be possessed of energy, powers of endurance, and vigour of mind, which need not be the indispensable possessions of the inhabitants of a country provided with natural plenty. The insular situation of Great Britain has endowed the

* Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol I.

race with a hardihood, a power of resistance, and an independence which cannot be acquired by a people living under enervating influences. The physical and political conditions which have moulded the British nation and given a vigour and vitality to its industry are entirely different from those prevailing in India. Another great disadvantage under which India labours at present is that neither she nor the Government of India enjoys a fiscal autonomy. The whole tariff policy of India is guided and controlled by H. M.'s Government, which is the final arbiter of her commercial destiny. Trade and commerce are the dominating factors in the policy of British administration, which is influenced to a large extent by the mercantile school of politicians at home. The Government of India have no voice in the commercial relations of the two countries, far less in determining an independent commercial policy. "Measures affecting the tariff touch such subjects which are not exclusively an Indian concern. They influence the prosperity of trade and industry outside the confines of India and they relate to matters on which H. M.'s Government is in constant negotiation with foreign powers. Such considerations may furnish important elements in considering the expediency of financial proposals ; but they are necessarily less fully within the cognisance of the Indian than of the Imperial Government."* The Government of India have of late denounced the so-called *Svadeshi* movement and have promulgated various orders and resolutions for the development of what they style 'honest' *swadeshi*. On the other hand, they have countenanced the growth of joint-stock enterprise, the establishment of technical schools and colleges, and the efforts of private individuals and associations to give Indians a foreign education in various branches of technical instruction. But I ask, if all these professions are sincere, and will they remain sincere to the bitter end ? Those who have watched the history of British politics in India during the last 50 years must have observed that official sympathy, official assistance and official favours have emanated from a Government obsessed with a sense of pronounced inequality between the rulers and the ruled. Fifty years ago a big chasm separated the rulers and the ruled in point of education, self-respect and other characteristics of healthy manhood. The chasm is now slowly being bridged over, and the two parties are approaching each other in a spirit of healthy rivalry. This spirit is intolerable to a race which has dominated the intellect

* Despatch of Lord Salisbury, No 25 date 1 31. 5.1876

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and morals of their subjects for the last century and a half. If a subject race does not meekly submit to the moral and physical force of the ruling race, or acknowledge its inferiority, the situation engendered thereby is called a political crisis; and such a crisis has now arisen. A similar crisis in the economic situation is yet far off, but signs of its birth are now in evidence. Fifty years ago, the Government advocated education and anticipated with glory and delight the advent of a period of political freedom and the growth of political aspirations among the people of India. That period has now arrived—but it has brought with it regrets and disappointments. Fifty years hence our rulers, however enthusiastic in their support of true *Swadeshi* they may now be, will not behold with equanimity a situation in which India presents an unassailable front as a commercial rival of Great Britain. Self-interest will then get the better of her moral scruples and she will not hesitate to extinguish honest *Swadeshim*, by all means in her power, military or legislative, if it will grow strong and vigorous enough to threaten or imperil her trade in the Indian market.

The industrial prosperity of Germany is the result of environment and competition—of the inevitable struggle for national supremacy carried on under circumstances highly favourable to success. The progress of the Empire may be dated from the termination of the Franco-German War in 1871, when she received the French war indemnity of two hundred million pounds sterling. This gave her a splendid start in her career of progress; for the whole amount was expended on various works of public and administrative improvements, and the Government was enabled, with the help of the national revenues set free in this way, to direct its efforts to the organisation and development of an extensive and thorough-going scheme of industrial and technical education. The protective policy of 1879 is no less responsible for her national progress. "The duties were high enough to confer a distinct benefit on the products of national industries and agriculture in competing with similar products from abroad. They were not, however, placed at such a level as to impede the producer's natural ability or to prevent his keeping the cost of production and all other expenses connected with an energetic competition for the markets of the world, as low as possible. Since that time the Imperial Government have always followed the principle of not only affording a struggling industry initial, but also continuous, protection afterwards whenever foreign competitors materially threatened its prospects. The protective

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system appears to have been favourable to a rapid expansion of foreign trade."* The inevitable result of this policy which has been vigorously and steadily pursued for the last thirty years is the industrial supremacy of Germany of which we have so much evidence today. Can India successfully compete with Germany under these circumstances? I must answer emphatically in the negative.

The case of Japan is similar. The country, homogeneous, as it is, in religion, language and in national sentiment, became awakened to a sense of its national importance. It enjoyed the political advantages of a free government, which directed its fiscal and commercial policy, controlled its education, and encouraged the birth of national spirit, vigour and morality. As a result we see the Japan of to-day emerging as the industrial rival of Germany and Great Britain. Are the conditions of India analogous? And can the present conditions of India produce the same results here? I must again answer with an emphatic 'No'. It cannot be expected that under her present moral and political conditions, the industrial spirit of India will be roused to such activity that she will overtake the great rivals in the race. The ideals she should always place before her are the agricultural systems of Canada, New Zealand, the United States or Denmark. If I may be permitted to hazard an opinion, the power and greatness of the United States consist not so much in her wonderful scientific achievements and their application to the daily use of life, as to the command she holds over other countries—especially the United Kingdom—as a great purveyor of their food. Great Britain is indeed a power: but experience has shown that, in spite of her command over an almost unlimited resource of capital, she is weak on account of her dependence on other countries for nearly three-fourths of her food requirements. She at last realised the grave situation engendered by this perpetual state of dependence, specially in time of war, and a Royal Commission with Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Chairman was appointed in January 1904 to investigate the subject and suggest remedies. The Commission, while admitting the gravity of the situation, rely on the faithful observance of the rule of International Law, and on the variety of the sources from which the food supply of the country is drawn. They also admit that a rise in prices of wheat is inevitable, which will, of course, result in an economy of consumption, and in the use of its substitutes. They regard, how-

*Veritas' *German Empire of To-day*, p. 61

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ever, with much concern the effect of this rise—which may be very high on account of the war panic—on the condition of the poorer classes who will be the first to feel the pinch. The poorer classes who will be actually affected number 12 millions out of 42; and the economic effect will not be so inconsiderable as is assumed to be. A number of remedies are suggested to ensure a sufficient stock of food in the country in times of panic and danger—but this, in my view, is the least important part of the Report. With all deference to the optimistic views held by the Commission, the danger of the position, which has been clearly explained and repeatedly brought home by publicists and economists, cannot be wholly ignored. The whole Report is pervaded by a sense of alarm and danger; and however skilfully one may try to belittle them, they cannot be wholly disregarded. Here, then, is an example which should not be without its lessons in India. She cannot afford to buy food from over the seas for her own consumption, and the wealth and material prosperity of the ryots must, for all time to come, depend on the value in the market of the surplus produce of their land. If this surplus ever showed any symptoms of shrinkage in pursuance of the shortsighted policy of fostering industry at the cost of agriculture, and of diverting the agriculturists from their industrious and healthy rural pursuits to factory life in towns, the country will be exposed to all the evils of modern industrialism which our countrymen can imagine. The food production of India must, in her existing fiscal and commercial condition, not only be sufficient to feed her own producers without cost, but to pay her foreign obligation and at the same time put some cash into their pockets to enable them to purchase imported necessities of life. The more the purchasing power of the people is increased by this means, the greater will it contribute to the taxation of the country, with the result that both the individual and the nation will rise in the scale of material wealth.

The soil and climate of India, no less than the habits of the people and the cost of production, are eminently favourable to successful competition in agriculture with foreigners. There appear to be more glorious possibilities for India in the improvement of her agriculture than in the formation of new and costly industrial organisations. If the productive capacity of an acre of cultivated land could be increased in money-value by 6 annas—which is not absolutely unattainable under a scientific and intensive method—the agricultural wealth of the country would be increased by about 9 crores of rupees a year. This is equivalent to

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interest at 6 per cent. on a capital investment of 150 crores of rupees. Can the co-operation of the whole population of the British Indian Empire produce an association of capital so gigantic in magnitude as this to promote industrial capitalism ? And is there any hope of increasing the national wealth by 9 crores a year by means of any industrial organisations that we can at present think of ? Yet how easy and practicable it is to increase the yield per bigha by only two annas ! In the Report of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1904, the Secretary speaks of the farm products of the country as "unthinkable aggregates." It is with pride and gratification in the consciousness of the superiority of agriculture to industry that he writes : "An occupation that has produced such an unthinkable value as one aggregating 5 billion dollars within a year may be better measured by some comparisons. All the gold mines of the entire world have not produced, since Columbus discovered America, a greater value of gold than the farmers of this country have produced in wealth in two years ; this year's product is over six times the amount of the capital stock of all national banks ; it comes within three-fourths of a billion dollars of equalling the value of the manufactures of 1900, less the cost of materials used ; it is twice the sum of our exports and imports for a year ; it is two and a half times the gross earnings from the operations of the railways ; it is three and a half times the value of all minerals produced in this country, including coal, iron ore, gold, silver and quarried stone."

I can easily imagine that agriculture is capable of producing similar results in India if those that are interested in land will co-operate for its improvement. The industries best suited to Indian habits of life are those that provide employment for the largest number of artisans and manufacturers in their respective spheres of hereditary occupations. Steam and electric power factories provide occupation for a particular class of labour ; but there exists in the country a vast mass of industrious poor, including women, whose lot can never be improved by the multiplication of mills and factories, because they consider it degrading to work side by side with the lowest class of professional labourers. It is desirable to harness the energies of this class of people which are at present running to waste and to make the most profitable use of them in the labour market. The industries in which they can be advantageously employed are mostly manual industries carried on in the homes of the artisans and are generally known as cottage or indigenous industries. The greatest patriot of India is he who by his knowledge,

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experience, energy or power of co-operation succeeds in improving existing industries or to galvanise into life the moribund ones. It is needless to give a complete catalogue of the different kinds of indigenous industries pursued in the different parts of India ; but the following may be cited as the most important : the weaving of Bengal and Madras ; the stone carving of Orrisa, Rajputana, the United Provinces and Central India ; the ivory carving of Murshidabad, Delhi, Mysore and Burma ; the silk manufactures of Murshidabad, Assam, Kashmir and Benares ; the gold and silver filigree work of Orrisa and Dacca ; the wood-carving of Mysore, Bombay, Burma and the Punjab ; the carpet manufacture of Mirzapore ; the painted ware of Jaipore, Peshawar and Kashmir ; the enamelled ware of Jaipore, Delhi, Lucknow and Benares ; the inlaid marble work of Agra ; and the pottery work of various places in India. These productions of art have always been the admiration of the civilised world ; but they are gradually falling into decay. The chief difficulty connected with their development is to find a market. The fashion of the country has undergone a decided change—whether for the better or for the worse, the people cannot judge : Our nobility and gentry have no longer a taste for our world-famed Kashmir shawls and the Dacca muslins : they prefer western style both in their social and domestic life. The purchasing capacity of the middle and lower classes, unless the articles wanted are necessities or moderate luxuries, does not count for much in the market. The problem, therefore, is how to revive the old taste ; and it is not, I believe, incapable of solution. If a powerful central organisation could be formed for the advertisement of our art wares, having branches in different parts of the country affiliated to it, there is a probability that the love of the people for the productions of their own country may be revived by a continued and powerful appeal to their taste. But this requires a fund of energy, enterprise and capital, which our patriots and countrymen cannot conceivably command ; and for the present, therefore, they must be content with what the “ Indian Stores ” and similar other smaller institutions are doing on a humble scale in this particular field of action. ‘ The Indian Stores ’ has proved a highly profitable concern ; and it is surprising that motives of gain do not bring out capital from the hoards of the rich to be invested in similar concerns which are at once productive and patriotic.

Besides the arts, mentioned above, in which skilled labour is necessary, there are various minor occupations and handicrafts which are at present carried on with no particular intelligence and skill.

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Among these may be mentioned, as the most common,—gardening, carpentry and joinery, straw plaiting, basket making, tailoring, hosiery, masonry, shoe-making, needle-work, lace making, embroidery, millinery, and dress making, book binding, packing, modelling in clay or wood, cutlery and iron-work etc. An immense improvement can be effected in these minor branches of industry, by what is called technical education. The term has been used *adnauseum* in the press and on the platform ; but I use it here in the sense in which Prof. Perry used it, viz, “an education in the scientific and artistic principles which govern the ordinary occupations in any industry. It is neither a science nor an art, nor the teaching of a handicraft. It is that without which, a master is an unskilful master, a workman is an unskilled workman, a clerk or a farmer, an unskilled clerk or a farmer.” It implies, in its simplest significance, as I understand it, the application of ordinary intelligence, commonsense and skill by which a manufacturer is enabled to produce works of better style, finish and symmetry, and of higher usefulness and value. It may be possible by the application of such technical knowledge to adapt the products to the varying fashion and requirements of the times, and to attract more extensive patronage. This technical knowledge should be applied to every variety of article in daily use, and the production of which makes a man useful member of society in his own particular line of occupation. There is an urgent and pressing need in India for this kind of elementary technical education by which a carpenter may be a skilled carpenter, a blacksmith may be a skilled blacksmith, and a gardener, a skilled gardener. I suggest, with this object, the establishment of a technical school in every district, under the patronage of our wealthy men, to be maintained by the joint effort of the State and the district and municipal Boards, and designed to impart elementary practical instruction in as many branches of the parochial industries as are suited to the aptitudes and pre-occupations of the villager so calculated to supply local needs or to please popular taste. A general spread of elementary technical knowledge, under a systematic and practical course of training will gradually supersede crude and unskilled methods of manufacture, improve the workmanship, attract the patronage of the people, enhance the value of the outturn, and ultimately redound to the advantage of the manufacturer. No costly organisation seems to me to be necessary. A district technical school of the most modest description can be maintained at a monthly cost of Rs 200 with an initial expenditure of Rs. 1,000. This small charge may be apportioned between the Gov-

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ernment, the municipal or local board and the zaminder in certain reasonable shares.

It is now necessary to estimate the cost of the district agricultural societies and to devise ways and means for their maintenance. There are 250 districts in the whole of British India, and if we have on the average one society in each district, there will be 250 societies. The average monthly cost of each society may be taken to be Rs. 5,000, including grants and subsidies to the agriculturists, the pay of the itinerant instructors, the cost of the exhibitions &c. The total annual cost of the 250 district societies would therefore be a crore and a half. Of this sum, 100 lakhs might be provided by the Government, 75 of which will come out of the re-constituted famine insurance grant and 25 out of the normal grant under "scientific and other minor departments." The balance, 50 lakhs, might be divided between the zemindars and local bodies in the ratio of their respective capacities. The ordinary income of all mofussil municipalities is about 250 lakhs, and of the district and local boards, about 400 lakhs of rupees—total 650 lakhs. A contribution of 5 per cent. on their income by these local bodies would produce an annual sum of 32½ lakhs. The balance, 17½ lakhs, may reasonably be contributed by zemindars and other private individuals.

The Government is accustomed to prophesy the failure of political institutions whenever there is a talk of implanting them in India. But it seems to be confident of the success of other institutions—judicial, educational, or economic—which it has introduced into India as faithful imitations of the western models. The people, however, know, whether the Government admits it or not, that its administration of justice has been a failure, in so far as it is ruinously expensive and offer too tempting facilities for litigation; its land revenue system has been a failure in certain provinces, because of the periodical settlements conducted by unsympathetic and in experienced officers assisted by corrupt subordinates which have now led to the gradual pauperisation or indebtedness of the peasantry; the education system has been a failure because it aimed too much at intellectual culture; the system of local self-government has been a failure, because it was introduced before the political education of the people was well advanced and worked under excessive official surveillance; the administration of criminal law has been a failure because it was entrusted in the hands of officials who severed all touch with the people and resented their co-operation; and finally, the fiscal policy has

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been a failure because the Government adopted the free trade principle which is far from beneficial to the interests of India. I apprehend a similar fate for the present policy of agricultural instruction and development. And my reason is that it aims at too high and scientific a standard of improvement without the co-operation of the villagers. It leaves the gulf between the ignorant subjects, who should be lifted along the plane of knowledge and intelligence, and the enlightened rulers, whose mission it is to undertake the reform, as wide as ever. There is no organisation or department for the diffusion of knowledge over the whole country ! On the contrary, there is a tendency to intense bureaucracy or over-centralisation. The policy lets severely alone those who are vitally interested. No bulletins or pamphlets that have been published have been translated or widely distributed among the villagers; no mission has been sent into the interior to instruct the people, no direct assistance has been given in the shape of free distribution of superior quality of seeds or of fertilisers ; no improved machinery has been worked in their presence nor have they been helped or taught to use such machinery. So long as the department is administered on bureaucratic lines so long will agriculture remain in its present stagnant state.

Satischandra Ray

AN EASTERN LEGEND IN ENGLISH VERSE

A comely Brahman youth there lived of yore
Who young in years was yet in wisdom ripe ;
His rival none there was in sacred lore,
By comm'n consent was he held quite a type
Of all that every man should wish to be.
His home, it stood on quite a little place;
Wealthier far than all around was he :
To famous men he could his lineage trace,
But while a child he lost his parents twine
And in the wide, wide world was left adrift ;
And o'er his loneliness he did not pine
But thought to spend his time with learned thrift.
The rising honours the miser's raptures fill
The ceaseless growth of knowledge was his joy.
Alone unwearied he did labour still
Content adorn'd his home without alloy.

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Rich though he was he lived on frugal fare ;
His wants were few ; attendants he had two ;
The faithfulness of these was reckoned rare ;
Nor e'er had they their service cause to rue.
Of these one was a simple country maid,
And scarcely sixteen summers had she seen,
An orphan ere she walked without an aid
She was forlorn : her birth was reckoned mean ;
But none could say who could her parents be ;
A humble farmer bred her up and sent
Her out to earn her bread while yet was she
A tender child : the goodly farmer meant
To do for her what lay in his poor might ;
Achamelan he thought would pity her
And take her in his home : and he was right,
His prayer he did grant without demur.
Six years had she been serving in his house
How fine Suchela now in garments pure !
A prince well might be proud to be her spouse
She was of neighbouring eyes the cynosure.
The Brahman youth in this sweet seat of peace
Spent pious days. No cares nor fears he knew
But still he did not seek in glorious ease.
And in good sooth in all the land how few
Were there that toiled as he ! From morn to night
He lived with books and dreamt of Vedas great
And shasters mystic : why men should not fight
The tempting vanities of life, why hate
And spite should yet mar life he could not see.
Of Rishis ancient he read oft and thought
To lead a life like theirs from sorrows free
In forests dense where men to seek had naught.
To those in misery he was so kind
Their numbers swelled with each advancing day
And flocked to him for help. Into his mind
A troubled thought of sudden made its way ;
His peace was gone ; impatient he did grow
His acts were passing strange ; now would he cross
A brook hard by : now climb a hillock low ;
And then the people wondered what it was ;
Why e'en he wisdom's path was transgressing.
As in an eastern sky a tiny speckle

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Appears which grows till it encompassing
The vault of heaven shrouds in utter murk
All things above or here below, his mind
Waxed worse and worse and people asked "Why should
God try so sorely one that was so kind."
For days he would walk in the distant wood
And sit and moan : at last he seemed to gain
Resolve ; his action steadier grew and from
His mind then slowly passed away the pain
And he behaved as it would him become.

It was one summer evening quiet and calm
When meek-eyed peace held sway through land and sea,
But in Achamelan's heart all was storm
Which yet was mingled with a streak of glee
He strode about the hall : he swiftly paced
To where Suchela stood. "My lovely maid,"
Quoth he ; to take his fainting breath he paused—
"I love thee more than life" : his hands then laid
On her, he said in accents low ; "To thee
I am a slave : a kingdom would, in lieu
Of thy sweet love I give." "My lord, love me !"
She faltering said, "A wretch I am, none knew
The secret of my birth. My parents were
Of lowest caste. I should not have defiled
The portals of thy home." "And what they were"
Impatient he spoke, "I care not. The piled
Grand shasters will I set at naught and wed
Her whom I love." "An outcaste you become !
A most unworthy son ! a noble father bred
Thee up ! You turn of society the scum !
My noble master pardon me. I laid
My honest feeling," she said low, "before
Your feet." He only kissed the lovely maid
On her dear cheek : and kissed her more and more.

Secretly he did marry with no more
Than a single priest whose mouth was closed with bold
But soon the secret burst. The common lore
Became the love of these. No one made gold
To ask of him why he deemed right to take
A wretch as his own life's companion,
At last the people chafed and cried, "This rake,
Curse him : let us all scorn this minion."

EASTERN LEGEND IN ENGLISH VERSE

A good man met him of a night ; "Rash youth,"
Urged he, "Desist at once from this mad course
And cast her off, for people have in truth
Resolved that expiatory deeds by force
Thou shouldst be made to do : and I do fear
That they won't brook a nay. The youth be thought
Himself and knew the people well. A tear
Came out of his eye : not for what he had wrought
But in thought of the vulgar mole, the pain
He knew Suchela would then feel. He saw
They could not safely longer there remain
For in their hands would people take the law.

Far from the place there was a field fertile
In which a modest mansion he did build
And there they lived. And people him revile
But still his home with peace and joy was filled.
A happy life they lived : in love's bless'd light
Years glided swiftly by. Three blooming boys
Three flushy girls had they. A childish fight
They fought one day to settle which of them of toys
Had most : a keener war they waged to find
Who loved their mother most.

The first faint ray
Of a world to come, the streaks of grey first lined
Her head. Suchela died before her day.
Achamelan lived to a ripe old age
His head was hoar : his beard was long his face
With wrinkles marked : he looked indeed a sage
But people said, of all the human race
He was to God of the greatest in the cause.
One evening quiet and calm when all was still
When something weird uncanny sure there was
About the land and sea, a neighbouring hill
Glowed bright with fire, it seemed. And people thought
It a mysterious sign of divine rage
A cruel vengeance which was well begot
Of human wiles and one who looked most sage
Said that this was brought on by that vile rake
Who took to wife a *neecha* ; those met there
Some quailed, some laughed and all their heads did shake.
One urged oft that they would do best to pare
In parts the body of that wretch if peace

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They cared to have. Just then a golden snake
Whirled down from heaven ; lo ! the people cease
To talk and look aghast : before they broke,
The sage Achamelan was lifted in
A golden chariot. Ev'n now none knows
How such a sinner vile, his peace did win
With God and the lofty he'ens uprose.

K. S. Srinivasan

SELECTIONS

A COMMONWEALTH OF INDIAN STATES

Former articles* discussed two measures of Lord Lytton for the use of Indian chiefs and for employment of the aristocracy of India. The first of these, for military service by the chiefs, had to be dropped at the time, but was subsequently adopted by Lord Dufferin in 1889. Of the second, for a Council of the Empire, Mr. Morley speaks as an "utter failure"; but why? Because, as stated by the editor of Lord Lytton's letters, "the Government at home had not sanctioned Lord Lytton's proposals to establish an Indian Privy Council and native peerage." On the 11th May, 1877, he wrote to Lord Salisbury, "I am convinced that the fundamental political mistake of able and experienced British officials is a belief that we can hold India by what they call good government; that is to say, by improving the condition of the *ryot*, strictly administering justice, spending immense sums on irrigation works, etc. Politically speaking, the Indian peasantry is an inert mass. If it ever moves at all, it will move in obedience, not to its British benefactors, but to its native chiefs and princes, however tyrannical they may be. The only political representatives of native opinion are the Babus, whom we have educated to write semi-seditious articles in the native press, and who really represent nothing but the social anomaly of their own position. Look at the mistake which Austria made in the government of her Italian provinces. They were" (like the British districts in India) "the best governed portions of Italy; she studied and protected the interests of the native peasantry; but fearing the native *noblesse*, she snubbed and repressed it. When that *noblesse*, having nothing to gain or hope from the continuation of her rule, conspired against it, the peasantry either remained passive or else followed the lead of its natural superiors in attacking its alien benefactors. But the Indian chiefs and princes are not a mere *noblesse*. They are a powerful aristocracy. To secure completely and to utilise efficiently the Indian aristocracy is, I am convinced, the most important problem now before us."

Lord Lytton said in this letter that he did not propose to

* "Imperial Service by Indian Chiefs," *United Service Magazine*, April, 1907 and "Mr. Morley's 'Some Paces Further' in India," *United Service Magazine*, June, 1907.

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increase the political power of the chiefs. They should remain, in the words of Sir John Malcolm quoted with approval by Lord Canning,* "Royal instruments," *Arkan-i-Dowlah*, supports of the throne. As such, Lord Lytton desired to enhance their dignity and their usefulness, thinking that, as recently said by Mr. Morley, "we made a mistake in not attaching the weight we ought to attach to these powerful princes and standing forces in India. It is a question whether we do not persist in holding these powerful men too lightly. That has been when all went well ; it is in time of trouble that their value appears.

The Maharaja of Bobili wrote last June to the *Madras Mail*, that "Maharajas, Rajas, *Zamindars*" (great landholders), "and others of any *status* are quite loyal to the British. Sikhs and Muhammadans are likewise strongly attached to the Government. None of these will ever encourage the present agitators; on the contrary, they will use all their power and influence to defeat them." This we have seen in the prompt action taken by the Mysore, Kashmir, and other native Governments against the preaching of sedition ; as in 1857, so now, the chiefs and aristocracy of India are on our side, and their weight is immense. As said thirty years ago, in a pamphlet approved by the wide political experience of Lord Lytton,† "who that has passed through the great agony of 1857 can have any but the liveliest feeling of the importance of the Feudatories' *role* in the maintenance of our power? . . . Each chief gave the cue to millions of our subjects who were watching his every sign. . . . His adherence to our cause at once lowered the tone of the preachers of sedition, and sent a shock of disheartenment through the ranks of the revolt; while at the same time raising the confidence of our adherents. On the other hand, if heading the movement, each ancient name would have been a tower of strength to the rebel cause."

Therefore, said Mr. Morley in his last Budget speech, "let us try to draw to our side those men who now influence the people." Against us, he pointed out, are the *litterati*, whom Lord Lytton said that we have educated to sedition; "they have little to lose and much to gain from revolutionary changes," and they have no patriotism to restrain them. The sentiment of patriotism, writes the Maharaja before quoted, "since the foundation of the caste system has died out altogether. This system was originally intro-

* See the last paragraph of this article.

† *The Use of Indian Chiefs*. W. H. Allen & Co., 1875.

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duced by priestcraft (Brahmans), for their own elevation amongst us. . . . It has always been the case with Brahmans to set themselves against their kings." As said in a former article,* this revolt against the Brahmans is everywhere in progress, and they, with the Kayasthas, are the only Indian classes represented by the Babus—"a mere handful," said Mr. Morley, but one "which makes all the difference, is making, will make all the difference," unless repressed by those who really lead and influence the various peoples of India.

Should not these considerations be weighed by those who desire the autonomy of India on lines only attained in England by gradual progress in a thousand years since Heptarchy? It was said recently, in a remarkable series of letters by an Indian,† that "the liberty which the British won after centuries of effort has been given to India from without in a day . . . it must not be abused. Nor can it be safely exercised with the like expansion in India as in England . . . the conditions of India are widely different in every particular circumstance." On this subject Mr. Morley refers to Mill: "if there is anybody who can be quoted as having been a champion of representative government, it is Mill," and he cites Mill's opinion that government by the dominant nation is legitimate, if it most facilitates the transition of the subject people to our state of civilisation. In this the aristocracy of India agree, but the Babus do not; as said recently in the *Times*, "the Indian extremists preach the extermination of the English, and they, and not the moderate party, really represent the educated classes." No doubt, as before quoted from a great nobleman of Madras, the aristocracy "will use all their power and influence to defeat them," but to that end the aristocracy must be supported. The "Voice of Reason" above referred to points out that "in India we have a foreign Government ruling over almost countless millions of excitable Orientals, the bulk of whom are easily influenced by agitators." It is only the aristocracy who can, and will, counteract this, if we do not further disgust them by putting the Babus over their heads.

Mr. Morley has said that the attitude of the Babus is no reason for departing from the path of reform; to do so would be taken "as a sign of nervousness, trepidation, and fear; and fear, which is always unworthy in any Government, is in Indian Govern-

* *United Service Magazine*, June, 1907.

† "The Voice of Reason," letters to the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, by *Punjabi*.

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ment not only unworthy, but dangerous." Certainly we cannot go back. "Self-government is the order of the day," wrote *A Muhammadan* to *The Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore last June, "it is the coming event. The mass at home is out and out for self-government in India, and for the matter of that, no Englishman, of whatever political complexion, would pronounce himself as absolutely against self-government." Nevertheless, *A Muhammadan* fears that we may commit, what His Highness the Aga Khan has described in the *National Review* as, "a great ethical wrong, unworthy of a Christian and humane nation, to give over the real power of the Government to the people of India." *A Muhammadan* fears it because hitherto, to people at home in whose eyes intellectual ability is the criterion of political fitness, self-government in India has meant government by the Babus. "Any weakening of the British Government during the next two centuries," he writes, "would be fiercely resented by the Muhammadans"—and not by sixty millions of Muhammadans only, but by probably thrice as many Hindus.

Surely, however, we may attain internal self-government in India without that dreaded weakening of the British Government. His Highness the Aga Khan, like *A Muhammadan*, was considering the demand of the Congressmen; he referred to the disastrous consequences of a surrender of power to such as they. Is there no other course? Our object is that India should in time administer its own affairs as a component part of the British Empire. Why should we endeavour, by methods unnatural to India, to attain this object, when we have ready to our hand, in working order and fairly successful over one-third of India, the system under which Indians always have been governed and which suits them? "From the dawn of history," wrote the *Times* last year, "the people of India have been governed autocratically" by their own chiefs. No doubt, as Mr. R. H. Eliot wrote to the *Spectator* in June, Indians prefer British rule: "When Mysore, after fifty years of British rule, was given up to native rule, I had good reasons for knowing, and the new native Government knew it too, that the people generally disliked the change." Mr. Eliot at the time "was rather in favour of it than otherwise. In the end I had entirely to change my opinions, and to acknowledge that the natives of the country knew much better than I did." This feeling is universal; even in the British districts the masses do not like native administration, they prefer the Englishman if they can get him. Nevertheless, considerations of expediency lead to steady increase of employment

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of natives, not only in the subordinate, but in the superior, grades. As said recently in the *Times*, "the common English policy by which everything of any importance is entrusted to an Englishman, as the only competent and honest exponent of enlightened government, cannot go on for ever." We must, in the end, find a way out of our necessarily provisional position here. The question is whether that way shall be on the present European lines or on Indian lines. Shall we hand over to the Babus the working of the State machine, who, Mr. Morley says, "could not do it for a week," of whom Mr. Eliot states that they "are regarded with intense dislike by about ninety per cent. of the inhabitants of India, the rural classes"—shall we adopt this method, condemned by His Highness the Aga Khan as "a great ethical wrong"? Or, since the power must in the end be transferred, since we cannot exercise it indefinitely, and we are pledged to its transfer—shall we gradually transfer it to the natural leaders, to those who are capable of its exercise, who do now exercise it in one-third of India with fair success, and in a manner suited to the people whom they rule?

"If in India there were a supreme native ruler in the position of the Khedive, the troubles of the India Office would be greatly reduced." This remark, in Mr. Meakin's book, 'The Life of an Empire,' goes to the very root of our Indian difficulties. More than thirty years ago it was contended, in 'The Use of Indian Chiefs,' before quoted, that the system of administration of the Native States is more congenial to Indians than the British system; that even were this saying true, in Marshman's 'History of India,' that "if our Government is the purgatory of the upper ten thousand it is still the paradise of the millions," nevertheless the millions will always follow the ten thousand. "Was it not so in Oudh, in 1857, when the people whom we had just relieved from the miseries of a disorganised rule and grinding oppression clung *en masse* to their oppressors?" "The people of India," said Lord Lytton's letter, before quoted, "will only move in obedience to its native chiefs and princes, however tyrannical they may be." Mr. Meakin speaks of a supreme native ruler, but such there never was over the whole congeries of various races and tongues called "India." There are, however, many native rulers with well-organised administrations covering one-third of India; why should not there be more?

In his 'Egypt of the Future,' Mr. Edward Dicey, C. B., has urged that we should follow the example of Russia in Central Asia, of France in Tunis, of Austria in Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

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He desires the policy "propounded by Lord Dufferin and advocated by Nubar Pasha, namely, that we should administer Egypt as we administer the Native States of India. . . . Supreme authority should be vested in the hands of the representative of the protecting power. Subject to this supreme authority, as little change as possible should be made in the internal administration of the protected states." This reform is possible in Egypt; how far is it still possible in India? It is perhaps still possible here to some extent; indeed, if ever withdrawal from India is demanded by British taxpayers impatient of the great naval and military burden imposed by its defence, then the gradual adoption of Mr. Dicey's method would be the necessary preliminary of such retirement. In the course of the two centuries demanded by *A Muhammadan*, in his letters before mentioned ("any weakening of the British Government during the next two centuries would be fiercely resented by the Muhammadans"), much might be done in the direction of autonomy. By degrees the Natives States' boundaries might be enlarged; by degrees new states might be created—as Mysore and Kashmir were created during the nineteenth century; all taking up their shares of India's investments, the "productive" debt for railways and canals, and paying off their quotas of her "unproductive" debt, which is chiefly on account of wars, like that of "the Mutiny," which have assured the peace and prosperity of India. There would of course remain great tracts, the coast provinces, which could not be included under any native chieftain's rule, and which must, so long as we stay in India, abide under our direct administration; but still, by very gradual process, great advance could be made, even in the current century, towards the system which Lord Dufferin advocated. Our avowed object, whether in Egypt or in India, is internal autonomy, and only on Mr. Dicey's method can that be attained. Mr. Dicey cannot "understand how the absolute autocracy of the ruler can be the way to prepare the ruled for autonomy. The process seems analogous to that of the schoolmaster who undertook to teach his pupils the art of swimming, but would never allow them to go into the water till they had learned to swim." Now in the Native States of India they have learned to swim, and the nearest approach possible to an autonomous India would be a commonwealth of those states under the British Protectorate. No doubt it might fall to pieces were that Protectorate withdrawn; but the gradual establishment of such a Commonwealth would give India her best chance in preparation for that case. It would also be the indis-

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pensable preliminary of our withdrawal, for only so could the British Government dispose of its investments, and discharge the obligations incurred on behalf of India, before the necessarily ensuing collapse of India's credit ruined her creditors.

The question is of attaining, within some measurable period of time, that administration of India by Indians for Indians which is our declared object. Entire autonomy India, as a whole, has never had; even the more reasonable of the Babus do not desire it, much less the chiefs, nor is it conceivable; as Mr. Dicey says of Egypt, "to talk of autonomy," *i.e.* independence of some protecting power, "as coming within the range of practical politics seems to me an absurdity." But self-government by Indians under a central authority is not only existent, but in different degrees successful, in the Native States. The proposal is simply this—to use and develop existing machinery; to adopt the only form of *Swaraj* that India has ever known. The method of *Swaraj* hitherto favoured, on European lines, is foreign to Indian customs and traditions; it is dreaded, not by the aristocracy alone, but by the masses; in the words of His Highness the Aga Khan, its adoption would be "a great ethical wrong unworthy of a Christian and humane nation." Such being the case, why not consider another method?

That method is to extend by slow degrees the systems of native administration, which already cover one-third of India, over as much as may be possible of the remaining two-thirds of that country. The extension of territory of existing states, the conferring of ruling powers on titular chiefs, or the creation of new states in favour of territorial magnates, representatives of ancient houses, should be primarily the reward of special desert in that Imperial Service by Indian chiefs advocated in the first of these articles.* On this service of the Native States depends the great increase of the Indian forces demanded by the military situation in Central Asia and our engagement to defend Afghanistan; and it is by their share in the defence of India that the desert of the nobles should chiefly be measured. For instance, suppose the case of a chief who, from the commencement of the Imperial Service movement, has taken up the burden in greater proportion to his revenues than others, even of the few who have hitherto come forward. It is decided to acknowledge his services by the grant of adjacent territory. A calculation would be made of the proportionate share of "unproductive" Indian debt; that proportion, perhaps one and a half to two years of the assigned revenue, would be the *nasrana* (or "fine" in

* *United Service Magazine*, April, 1907.

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the feudal sense) payable for the assigned territory, plus the value of the plant transferred, buildings, roads, etc. The net revenue of the assigned territory, after deduction of cost of collection and of administration, would be for maintenance of a prescribed increase of the Imperial Service troops of the State. Or suppose one of the titular chiefs, a *Talukdar* of Oudh, or a Raja of Madras or Bengal to come forward patriotically in the scheme of Imperial Service, and that as reward he is granted ruling powers in his *jagirs* and estates, then a share of the "unproductive" Indian debt proportionate to his revenues would be assessed as *nazrana*. Or suppose the creation, in favour of a representative of some ancient house, of an entirely new state, on the precedent of Mysore or Kashmir, then similarly a *nazrana* would be taken, of a share of the above debt proportionate to the revenue of the state created, and a quota of Imperial Service troops would be assessed on the new state. As the measure gradually progressed it would probably be further desirable for the Government to relieve itself also of "productive" debt, by transferring to the Native States the proportion of productive works, railway and irrigation, included in their territories, on payment of proportionate shares of the cost, according to the precedent of the shares of the Sirhind Canal held by some Punjab States.

In suggesting the gradual extension of the Native States' system it is not contended that this system is ideal; only that direct British administration of India cannot go on for ever, and that the rule of Indian chiefs is better than the rule of Babus—which latter indeed is impossible. Sir John Low's admission was true, some sixty years ago, that the great mass of the subjects of a Native State would be grateful for British government. Sir John Low, alone among the members of the Supreme Council, was then resisting Lord Dalhousie's annexation of Nagpur. He made the above admission while still contending for the maintenance of Native States. Some years later the *Benares Akhbar* said of the grants of territory to Indian chiefs, in reward of mutiny services, that "the people of the territory granted are never so happy as they were under British rule." This also was true, *then*, but matters have since greatly improved in the Native States. Moreover, though native rule unchecked and unsupervised may be bad, yet it suits the people. As said of Egypt by Mr. Dicey*: "Their ideas are not our ideas, their ways are not our ways. The Egyptians have been used to be ruled despotically for centuries without end,

* *The Story of the Khedivate*, by Edward Dicey, C. B.

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and their ideal of government is that of personal rule. . . . I should not be at all surprised to find that even amidst the classes which have benefited the most by our reforms there were often regrets for the bygone days." The Native States' system in India is no longer unchecked and without supervision as in Sir John Low's day ; it is the watchfulness of the Government which renders their administrations successful and satisfactory to their people, as they now for the most part are.

Nevertheless, "we confess that, uncompromisingly as our system rubs against every angle of the oriental nature, the instances are yet few, if any, where the inhabitants of a tract that has been some time under British rule would consent to revert to native government."* This was true thirty years ago, but the great attraction of British administration is being gradually weakened in the substitution of Indian for British agency. It was also due largely to the lenity of our land revenue system : native rulers cannot forego, as we have, the major part of the State claim upon the produce of the land. The main objection to native rulers will, therefore, disappear if the exigencies of Imperial defence compel us to raise our revenue rates to something approaching the standard of the Native States. The question, moreover, is not between British rule and native rule, but between administration by the Babus, with the British power behind them, or administration by the Indian chiefs ; on this, when *once understood*, there is no doubt as to the choice of the masses. For these dull masses, however, the question cannot for long be so posed and understood. Meanwhile, it is certain that the main objection to the extension of Native States' administration would come from the British Indian subjects affected. But would the people really be worse off ; and if so would not the subjects of Native States be generally anxious for British rule ? Sir John Low thought so sixty years ago, but it is doubtful now whether Native States' villagers are attracted by the happier condition of their British neighbours. The people on both sides of a border are generally of the same classes, often closely related. An observer will find no difference in their circumstance, all the indices of village comfort are the same—with this difference that the land of the Native States' subjects is their own while that of the British subjects is often mortgaged. Some years ago a pamphlet by a native official explained that our people pay three *jamas* (assessments), of which one goes to the lawyers. That *jama* is escaped by the Native States' subject, though the second, the

* *The Use of Indian Chiefs*, W. H. Allen & Co., 1875.

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"bribes" *jama*, is much the same for him and the British subject. The third, or revenue *jama* of the former, is on an average about double that of the British subject; i.e. the native administration secures a part of what the British subjects squander on litigation but only a part, and the Native States' subject thus remains on the whole at least as well off as his British neighbour. Those familiar with both systems can see advantages in Native States' methods which should lead British *ryots* to accept transfer contentedly. Still the fact remains that, at first, they would not do so.

Nor would there be any reason for such a measure could the system of British India remain as it is. But it cannot. Self-government has to be introduced. At present we are striving for it on wrong lines, of which the result to the *ryot*, could he understand it, would more than reconcile him to the alternative, to the restoration of self-government to India on her ancient lines—the system of the Native States.

It has not hitherto been our practice to surrender to native administration tracts which have long enjoyed "the blessing of British rule." But this, and the objection of the British *ryots* discussed in the last paragraphs, do not really affect the present question. For, assuming that our avowed object is the internal autonomy of India, the question is only of the method of substituting native for British administration. But there are other objections to the present proposals, for instance that of a native Indian statesman of wide experience—"The first and the foremost duty of the Government at the present time is to extirpate the agitation and sedition spread by the Congress, and as long as this is not thoroughly suppressed any proposal of this sort would be inopportune." But the proposal is not for any new announcement of policy, only for a change of view on the method of carrying out an avowed policy. No sudden change is proposed, nothing to be *done* immediately or even proximately, only the principle to be accepted of a gradual process which shall be carried out in the current and next centuries. Another objection, by a very able Indian nobleman, is "Where are the chiefs?" Now it is true that the level of qualification in Indian chiefs, as a body, is not at present very high. It would be strange if it were so when we, in Mr. Morley's words, "persist in holding these powerful men too lightly." What room have the chiefs to exercise, what incitement to acquire the qualities of statesmen? But when, as suggested in the pamphlet before quoted, "they find themselves honoured and useful in the court, the council and the field, and when the actions

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of the aristocracy are trained up in close official and social contact with ourselves," then the qualities of the born leaders of the Indian races will rise into view from the rust of disuse. A third objection is that chiefs might misapply increased revenues, as some now squander what they have. But the conditions of such increase of revenue have been stated in paragraph 10, and would be enforced by the Emperor's representatives. One main object of the measure depends on those conditions, namely, the necessary increase of the defensive power of the Empire by the military service of the chiefs. But the Imperial native army, and the subsidiary British forces, would remain as they are now, being maintained by the revenues of the coast provinces, by the opium revenue, and by the custom duties. Thus Ambala, Lucknow, and other cantonments would remain as much Imperial garrisons, were the surrounding territories included in Native States, as are now Mhow, Secunderabad, Bangalore, etc., under the same conditions. Finally, there is the probable objection, by extremists in England, that the autocratic rule of Indian chiefs is not at all what they intend by self-government in India; that the only self-government is government by representatives of the people. This means government by the Babus,* but in India there is an aristocracy to be reckoned with, whom alone the people will follow. No doubt we might, for a time, force Babus upon them, but neither the aristocracy nor the people in India will willingly accept, as in Europe, leaders and rulers on the sole qualifications of education, intellectual ability, and powers of oratory. In relying on such we have, as Lord Salisbury said of Turkey, "put our money on the wrong horse," and the present policy cannot lead to the self-government we desire. Shall we then go on drifting as at present, or rather consider some more practical method?

"The safety of our rule," wrote Lord Canning, in 1860,† "is increased, not diminished by the maintenance of native chiefs well affected to us. . . . Should the day come when India shall be threatened by an external enemy, or when the interests of England elsewhere may require that her Eastern Empire shall incur more than ordinary risk, one of our best mainstays will be found in these Native States. . . . It was long ago said by Sir John Malcolm that if we made all India into Zillahs" (British districts), "it was not in

* The general Indian term for the lawyers, journalists, and other politicians of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras who claim to represent all the various peoples of India.

† Despatch of the 30th April, 1860, published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 22nd December, 1860.

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the nature of things that our Empire should last fifty years ; but that if we could keep up a number of Native States, without political power but as royal instruments, we should exist in India as long as our naval superiority in Europe was maintained. Of the substantial truth of this opinion I have no doubt, and recent events have made it more deserving of our attention than ever." In forty-seven years since has it become less deserving of attention ? In 1857-58 the native Governments, wrote Lord Canning, "served as breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave." So now do they defeat the attempts of the Babus to raise a similar wave. If further they serve to avert from India the "great wrong" feared by His Highness the Aga Khan, namely, "to give over the real power of the Government to the people of India" in the person of "the Babus," they will thus render to this country a no less signal service than they rendered in 1857-58.—L. J. H. Grey in *The United Service Magazine*.

THE INDIAN COTTON INDUSTRY

The extraordinary development of the Indian jute trade in the last three years has tended to draw off attention from the still more important cotton industry. The recent course of this industry has been somewhat chequered, in striking contrast to the experience of the Lancashire trade. Cotton holds a foremost position in Indian agriculture, in Indian manufactures, and in Indian imports and exports. Over 22 million acres are cultivated with the fibre, nearly a quarter of a million persons are employed in the mills, over 6,000,000 are supported by hand weaving and spinning, and while imports of cotton goods represent 38 per cent. of all imports, exports of cotton yarn and piece-goods constitute 7 per cent. of all India's exports. The portion of the country directly interested in jute is limited, and the mills are mainly in Calcutta and its vicinity, but the cotton industry is everywhere, and though the Bombay Presidency and its capital city are in the forefront of the industry, there is an increasing number of mills up-country.

SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIAL

Next to the United States, India is the greatest producer of raw cotton, and great attention is being devoted to the improvement of the fibre as well as to the extension of the area under cultivation. An increase of no less than 1, 272, 000 acres took place last season, and the yield was 4,908,000 bales, or about 17,528,500 cwt. Out

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of the total production the requirements of the domestic industry and of the mills have to be met, and a large surplus is always available for export, the chief foreign customers being Japan and Western European countries, such as Germany and Italy. The Indian mills consume a rather smaller quantity than is exported. Endeavours are being made to produce a longer stapled cotton in India, suitable for spinning higher counts. Thus experiments with Egyptian cotton have taken place on irrigated land in Sind and with American cotton elsewhere, while tree cottons are being cultivated in Behar. Some success has been achieved with Egyptian cotton, but last year the plants suffered from boll-worm and both quality and yield fell short of anticipations. Owing to the liability of exotic varieties to deterioration and to attacks from insect pests, some prefer to rely on the improvement of indigenous cottons by hybridizations and by careful selection of seed. Coarser Indian cottons can at present be spun only up to 20's and finer kind, up to 42's, but the cultivator is not easily persuaded to abandon these inferior descriptions inasmuch as they provide a hardy and paying crop which is readily sold either in India or abroad. The Indian manufacturers at present require but little longstapled cotton, though a small quantity is imported from America for special purposes. A great demand has sprung up in recent years for Indian cotton-seed, which is increasingly popular as a cattle food and as a substitute for linseed. In the five years to 1899-1900, the exports of this seed averaged only 36,000 cwt. In 1906-7, the exports had risen to 4,391,000 cwt.

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The exact out-turn of the hand-looms cannot be ascertained, but some authorities have estimated that it amounts to twice or thrice the output of the mills. The handicrafts, however, are undoubtedly decaying, though very slowly. The efforts that are being exerted to extend the use of the fly-shuttle may, if successful, alleviate the difficulties that are liable to ensue from too rapid a decline in the production.

INDIAN MILLS

The mill industry has made steady, but not remarkable, progress in the last 20 years, as the following figures show :

| | No. of Mills. | Capital. | | Spindles. | Looms. |
|--------|---------------|------------------|------------|-----------|--------|
| 1885-6 | 89 | Rs. 8,15,48,750 | £330,000 | 2,198,545 | 16,548 |
| 1895-6 | 148 | Rs. 12,41,40,210 | £568,216 | 3,852,611 | 37,278 |
| 1905-6 | 204 | Rs. 15,59,66,710 | £1,067,245 | 5,293,834 | 52,281 |

The actual capital is really larger, the precise amount not being

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ascertainable. One noticeable fact is the large proportion of rupee capital invested, the bulk of the mills being in the hands of Bhattias, Parsis, and other natives of India. On March 31, 1907, the number of mills had risen to 210, of which 172 were joint-stock concerns. By that date there were 5,544, 624, spindles and 59,467 looms in position. Nearly three-fourths of the spindles and four-fifths of the looms are in the Bombay Presidency, where Bombay City and Ahamedabad are the chief centres of production. For ten years or more the Indian mills have been subject to great vicissitudes, owing to scarcity of raw material and famine in India in the earlier years of that period, and owing to war, internal troubles, fluctuations of exchange, famines, and Japanese competition in the important China market.

INDIAN AND LANCASHIRE MILLS

The Indian mills have an advantage over those of Lancashire in that the raw material is produced at home, so that freights, commissions, and other charges are much diminished. But they have to pay more for machinery and stores, interest on capital is higher, fuel is dearer, and skilled labour is scarce. Moreover, the directors often lack technical and commercial experience, with the result that business is sometimes ill-organized. But, in spite of drawbacks such as these, the industry is progressing and more attention is being given to weaving. Mills are largely equipped with new and up-to-date machinery, and electric light installations have been put into many of them. Complaints are sometimes made of the excise duty on cotton goods; but this duty yielded only £181,000 as compared with £886,000 produced from imported cotton goods in 1905-6, and the progress of the Indian weaving industry, inspite of the duty shows that the burden is light.

NEW MARKETS FOR YARN

Apart from China, there has been hitherto no large market abroad for Indian yarn, though Persia, Aden, and Arabia have absorbed fairly considerable quantities. But during the last year or so there has been a marked increase in shipments to the United Kingdom, Turkey in Asia, and Egypt. At one time England bought much raw cotton from India, but these purchases have dwindled: lately, however, owing to scarcity of yarn in Europe and the inconvenience and loss resulting therefrom, Indian spinners have been selling low counts of yarn to Lancashire at prices higher than they could realize in India or China. This development has relieved the critical situation in the Indian industry that had arisen from the disorganization and congestion of Far Eastern markets. Possibly

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the cheapness of yarns, due to stagnation in these markets, has had something to do with the new demand from England. At the same time experts hold that coarse Indian yarns (Nos. 4 to 16) would have a large sale here (England) if certain defects were remedied. In the Levant, Indian yarns have entered into active competition with Italian and other European yarns, which are in demand by handloom weavers and knitters. Indian high-grade yarns are now in great request for forward delivery throughout Turkey, particularly from Syria. In 1906-7, the exports to Turkey were 5,659,450lbs. as against 3,267,280lbs. in 1905-6. This year about 27,000 bales of Indian yarn have been shipped to the Levant and Europe, while forward sales of over 30,000 bales have been booked. The receipt of repeat orders proves that the yarn has been a success. It would achieve a still greater success if it were more even and regular and always up to sample.

INDIAN WEAVING

In addition to seeking new outlets abroad, Indian millowners have come to see that much more of the yarn they produce can be profitably woven into cloth for home or foreign consumption, and it is for this purpose chiefly that higher counts are being spun. At present the home market is dominated by Lancashire cotton goods, the Indian piece-goods being too coarse for the majority of purchasers. Consequently such goods find a market to a large extent in Arabia, Aden, East Africa, Ceylon, and other countries washed by the Indian Ocean. For a time it seemed that British cottons, especially grey goods, were losing ground in India, little progress being manifest for the 15 years ended 1903, but since that date grey, white, and coloured goods have all forged ahead and broken past records. Apart from British goods, the mills suffer to a slight extent from the competition of European and American cottons of particular varieties, such as American drills and dyed goods from Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. Still more effective in remoter up-country districts is the competition of hand-woven goods, the coarseness of which is atoned for by their superior durability. Although Indian mills cannot expect for a very long period to produce goods equal to those of Manchester, their looms are undoubtedly now producing cloth that could not have been woven five years ago, and the upward tendency is marked. Moreover, while spinning has been subject to great vicissitudes, weaving has been flourishing for the past ten years, and prices have left a good margin of profit. The immediate future is promising. Many mills have sold their output for several

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months forward, and there is ample room for the weaving sheds that are being steadily added to mills. There is practically no risk in extending the production of shirtings, dhuties, tea-cloths, domestics and chadars. Grey goods at present comprise about four-fifths of the output, but there has been progress recently in white, fancy, and coloured goods, which would be produced still more freely but for difficulties in bleaching and printing. The total production of the Indian weaving mills last year (1906-7) was 159 million pounds, or about 682 million yards, besides a small output in the Native States. This quantity, however, is equivalent to only about 25 per cent. of the imported cotton goods, and, as we have seen, a part of the production is exported. In Bombay there are four factories for hosiery, a branch of the trade that has fallen largely into the hands of Continental manufacturers.

THE OUTLOOK

In 1905-6, there was booming prosperity in the Indian cotton industry, but in 1906-7 came reaction, chiefly owing to the troubles in the China market. The situation was alleviated by the enhanced home demand for yarns and cloth, arising partly from the cheapness and improved quality of these goods, partly from the influence of the *Swadeshi* movement, which finds favour with large numbers who do not countenance political agitation or sedition. The policy pursued by the best mills, in the profitable year 1905-6, of applying large sums to depreciation, of building up reserves, and of extending plant and machinery proves that the financial side of the industry is not disregarded. With the home cultivation of better varieties of cotton, with the expansion of demand for yarns in China, as railways are extended, with the exploitation of new markets for yarns and cloth, and with closer attention to the requirements of the Indian market, there is every probability of steady development in both the spinning and the weaving branches of India's greatest manufacturing industry.

COMPARATIVE EFFICIENCY OF LABOUR

Some years ago the competition of "brown" labour was one of the bugbears of trade unionism in this country, owing to the institution of crude comparisons between the wages payable and the hours worked in India and England respectively. An expert who has recently written on this subject demonstrates that five or six times as many hands are needed in Indian spinning mills, and three times as many in weaving sheds, to produce the same result as in England. The following table, modified from a table in the recent

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report on factory labour in India, brings out very clearly and forcibly the relative productive capacity of English and Indian workers :—

| | | ENGLAND | INDIA |
|---------------------------------------|-----|----------|----------|
| Operatives per 1,000 spindles | .. | 4'2 | 28 |
| Operatives per 100 looms | .. | 43 | 125 |
| Annual outturn of yarn ... | .. | 7,736lb. | 4,000lb. |
| Weekly outturn of cloth ... | .. | 767yds. | 240yds. |
| Ind. weight to Eng. 1 hr. per spindle | | 1 | 2'2 |
| Average approximate counts | ... | 40s. | 20s. |
| Working hours per year | ... | 2,775 | 4,120 |
| Mly. spinning wages per operative | ... | Rs. 70 | Rs. 13 |
| Mly. weaving wages per operative | ... | Rs. 72 | Rs. 15 |

Neither wages alone nor hours alone can form a basis for comparing British and Indian labour costs. Indian labour is lacking in continuous application, punctuality, energy, and regularity. Men have often to be employed in India for work that women will do in England. The Indian workers are not specialized to factory work and often exchange it temporarily for agricultural pursuits. They have little skill or education, consequently they make much waste, and, through want of cleanliness and proper handling, they not infrequently damage the machinery. Their sense of discipline is imperfect ; their attendance is irregular ; and they take long intervals for rest, smoking, &c. The fact that the Indian does not care to improve in skill or to work up to his full capacity is an important, yet an incommensurable, factor in production. Complaints were recently made with good reason on humanitarian grounds as to the excessive hours of labour in some Indian mills, though apparently they did not reach the inordinate length of time worked in some Japanese mills. The Factory Labour Committee recommended that the actual period of employment of male adults should not exceed twelve hours in any one day, and it is only fair to add that this course has been favoured by many mill-owners.

SPINNING MILLS

Now, as in the past, spinning is the most important branch of the Indian cotton mill industry, and the outturn is partly sold for power or hand looms in India, where there is competition with hand spun yarn and with imported English yarn, partly exported to foreign countries, China being by far the largest customer. It is said that yarns of 10's count are most remunerative, and after these come 20's, which are chiefly spun for China consumption. In recent years there has been a tendency to produce higher counts, and

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Bombay mills, where shch counts are chiefly spun, have practically ousted foreign yarns up to 25's. The following table shows the increase in the production of yarns of both lower and higher counts (in millions of lb.):

| | Nos. 1 to 25. | Nos. above 25. | Total. |
|------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------|
| Average 1896-7 to 1900-1 ... | 423'9 | 20'1 | 444'0 |
| Average 1901-2 to 1905-6 ... | 537'4 | 39'9 | 577'3 |
| Year 1906-1907 ... | 581'4 | 49'2 | 630'6 |

In addition, about 23 million lbs. were produced in Native States and foreign territory. In 1906-7, the imported foreign yarns of Nos 1 to 25 amounted to only 2'5 million lbs. and those above 25's to 32'1 million lbs. In recent years, and especially in 1905, the business in imported yarns has somewhat increased, but there can be little doubt that India will soon be able to supply her own needs in yarns up to 40's.

THE CHINA MARKET

The dependence of India on the China market as its chief outlet for yarn has been a source of much trouble and frequent loss, but also, at times, of large profits. At present considerably over 90 per cent. of India's yarn exports are sent to China, where in addition to currency and other difficulties they have to face the competition of China's own yarns—so far a matter of small moment—and the more serious competition of Japanese yarns, so that India has no longer a practical monopoly in that country. Although Japan has to obtain about one-third of her supplies of raw cotton from India, she is making great headway. Her powers of production are as yet not greatly developed—she has but 1,500,000 spindles as against India's 5,500,000—but her business men are active and enterprising and the cotton trade receives support from the Government and the largest banks. The net imports of English, Indian, Japanese, and other cotton yarns into China in 1905 and 1906 were as follows (in piculs of 133⅓lb.):

| | 1905. | 1906. |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|
| English | 21,837 | 30,701 |
| Indian | 1,846,846 | 1,840,235 |
| Japanese | 681,442 | 654,371 |
| Other | 9,625 | 15,915 |

It will be observed that the Indian business is nearly thrice as large as the Japanese. The former is indeed so large that no serious encroachments seem likely in the immediate future, and it has to be remembered that with the extension of railway a constantly wider demand for yarn is probable.—*The Times*.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Lord Kitchener And The Staff College

Lord Kitchener, speaking as the guest of the Staff College at a recent dinner, said that the founding of the Staff College and the introduction of other changes were due solely to an endeavour to promote the welfare of the Indian Army. On his arrival in India he found that the Army consisted of regiments individually excellent, but that there was no organisation in brigades and divisions, no brigade of cavalry under a cavalry officer, and no means of training the Staff. The Indian Staff College is now in full working order, and the formation of a General Staff is under consideration. The Army is being organised and trained in peace with reference to the conditions of war.

Wild Animals In India

According to a Government return, the total number of people killed by wild animals in India during 1906 was 2,084, as against 2,051 in 1905. Wolves are reported to have killed 178 persons in the United Provinces. In the Madras Presidency tigers were responsible for the greater mortality, while a mad wolf in the Sholapur district of Bombay caused 16 deaths. In Bengal the number of persons killed by elephants rose from 9 in 1905 to 18 in 1906, and a proposal has, it is stated, been made by the Magistrate of Cuttack for the organisation of a khedda in that district. Tigers killed a larger number of persons than in 1905 in Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, and Burma, and steps have been taken for the destruction of man-eating tigers in these provinces. Three man-eating tigers were destroyed in Sambalpur, Angul, and Mandular in 1906. The persons reported to have died from snake-bites numbered 22,854, against 21,797 in 1905, the increased mortality being ascribed to high floods, which drove snakes into houses and homesteads.

Famine Ahead

The shadow of another famine looms gigantic over India. For the past six years there have been moderately favourable seasons, and the country has had time to recover from the great disasters of 1897 and 1900, the two worst famines that have been experienced

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under British rule. But this year the monsoon rains began a month late, and after giving a favourable rainfall for a time ceased altogether, with the result that the crops have withered under the scorching winds in parts of the country, and it is now too late to save them. The districts more especially threatened—the United Provinces, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Rajputana, tailing off into Central India and Gujerat—are the same as those which suffered so much a decade ago, with the exception that the extreme North-West, the Punjab, and the Frontier Province seem likely to be more severely hit ; but in that part of the country local rainstorms are more frequent than further south in the plains, and the situation may still be saved. It seems already settled, however, that the winter crop, on which the people depend for their food, will be largely a failure this year, and that relief on a more or less extensive scale will be necessary. The best we can hope is that the scarcity will not deepen into widespread famine.

To Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji

As a sample of English (dis)courtesy, we reproduce the following letter addressed by " John Bull " to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on the eve of his departure from England and published in an English newspaper :

" I am very glad to hear that you are going home at last. You have paid us a very long visit, and no good has resulted either for yourself or us. Though I have a great respect for my Indian fellow-subjects, I would rather see them governing themselves than trying to govern us. You and Lord Salisbury's " black man " were not a success as legislators. You never became acclimatised to the atmosphere of the House of Commons, and you were an insufferable bore on a public platform. I remember hearing you address a London audience one evening. They wanted to hear about old age pensions, and Taff Vale, and the various Education Bills, and all the other shibboleths of party politics. But you talked for over an hour about Indian questions only, and you denounced your unfortunate hearers as though they were personally responsible for the woes of your fellow-countrymen. I am amazed that you were ever elected by any constituency, more particularly as I am told you are a very lazy candidate, and always late at meetings. However, I wish you a pleasant journey and a green old age."

The Unrest In India

Mr. Harold Spender, a distinguished London journalist, has addressed the following letter to the Editor of *The Morning Post* :—

"Sir,—Your leader of this morning marks perhaps the first attempt in the English Press to form an intelligent appreciation of the situation in India. You are at any rate consistent. Unless we give India more self-government we must cease to educate her in a literature which puts self-government forward as an end and object of all self-respecting political and social existence. I am not going to ask now whether we can take so gigantic a step backwards as to throw over the whole fabric built up by Macaulay. I am only going to put to you one possible difficulty. The movement in India is only part of a general movement in the East, extending from Japan to Egypt, but having its main inspiration in the extraordinary success and dazzling efficiency of Japan. It is the present fashion in England to regard this movement in so far as it extends to Japan with a sort of idolatrous admiration. But the Japanese is a fellow-Oriental with the Hindu, and every word that we say of Japan makes it more difficult for us to draw the line in India. Our very Treaties are against us. We are at present imprisoning Orientals in India for claiming to do precisely the same things that our "allies" have done so successfully in Japan. Is this attitude one that is likely to stand fire before the criticisms of a cold and hostile world?"

Boycott of Hindu Labour in the West

The Hindu labourer, being an Asiatic, is about to be prevented, in common with the Japanese and the Chinese, from emigrating to Canada. Indeed, the Hindu appears not to be wanted in any British self-governing colony. South Africa is closing her gates against him; in Australia he is shut out by the European language test; and now from Canada comes an expression of fear lest Hindus should be attracted thither by news of the abnormal demand for unskilled labour in connection with the construction of the new Grand Trunk Transcontinental Railway. As advised by the authorities in Canada, the India Office has now instructed the Lieutenant-Governors of the several provinces in India to warn intending emigrants against proceeding to Canada, and to discourage emigration to all countries where no suitable work is to be obtained by Hindus. It may be assumed that the labour needed in the construction of new railways in the Dominion is unsuitable work for Hindus. Concurrently with this action on the part of the India Office, the Colonial Office has made a similar communication to the respective Governors of Hong Kong, Singapore, and other Crown settlements within the Orient. Some lack of consistency may be noted in the

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circumstance that at the moment when these steps are being taken, Japanese are employed in railway construction in Canada, because an adequate supply of European labour cannot be obtained. It was stated recently by one of the first promoters of the Canadian Pacific Railway that, had not the labour of Chinese coolies been obtained, the completion of the line must have been delayed for several years.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

India and Persian Trade

A movement has been started among the mercantile community in Bombay to obtain for India a greater share in the trade of Persia than has hitherto been the case. We are informed that this enterprise is receiving very influential support at the moment. Some two or three years ago a commercial mission left India, under the leadership of Mr. A. H. Gleadowe, Newcomen, to examine the commercial possibilities of Persia and to decide how far it might be feasible to develop India's trade here. This mission, on its return, issued a very valuable report, and the present movement is a practical endeavour to put some of the suggestions then made into execution. It is generally felt in Bombay that Persia would, when properly cultivated, become one of India's best customers ; and it has been suggested that commercial agents should be established in each of the large centres within the sphere of influence assigned in Persia for this country by the recent Anglo-Russian Convention.

India's Cotton Production

The raw cotton exported from India during 1906-7 was 7,396,591 cwt., which exceeded the quantity exported the year previously by only a few hundredweight, 5,600, but the value was £14,218,910, or greater by £401,802. The principal buyers of the crop were Japan, which took 1,728,958cwt. ; Germany 1,648,349cwt., and Belgium 1,100,969cwt. Italy, France and Austria-Hungary were purchasers in much smaller amounts, and England took less than six per cent of the total, which, it is understood she re-exported. The acreage under cotton this year in India is larger by 1,272,000 acres than last year, a part being planted to Egyptian cotton, which is reported as doing well. Some of this variety of cotton grown in Sind was marketed last year at good prices, and great hopes are placed on its future production. About half of the raw cotton produced is now required by Indian mills, which have enlarged their

capacity during the last year, especially for the production of piece-goods of a higher grade, most of which the mills expect to sell in the local market for home consumption.

Jute not cultivated at the Expense of Rice

The publication of a report on rice cultivation by Mr. F. Smith, Deputy Director of Agriculture in Bengal, has a special interest in its bearing upon the allegation that the extension of the jute-growing area is obtained at the expense of the area put under rice, and that this displacement is the cause of the high price of rice. Investigation has shown that upon a number of estates in Eastern Bengal, 45 per cent of the land that grows jute grows also a crop of paddy the same year. Mr. Smith's experiments confirm the wisdom and economy of this rotation of crops, for they prove that by growing both jute and rice the cultivator can make a net profit of £10 per acre. Mr. Smith's report reinforces the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Oldham that the high price of rice is not due to jute-growing, but to circumstances which have also raised the price of wheat and barley in India. Indirectly the ryot's profit from jute has made Bengal rice dearer, because in his prosperous condition he scorns Burmah rice and insists on buying the Bengal variety, thus increasing the demand for a scanty crop.

Indian Telegraphy

The length of telegraph line in India in 1895-6 was 46,374 miles ; the corresponding length of line in 1905-6 was 64,731 miles. The length of wire stretched (including cables) was 143,188 miles in 1895-6 and 243,840 miles in 1905-6. The number of signal offices open in 1895-6 was 1461; in 1905-6 the corresponding number was 2309. The number of messages forwarded in 1895-6 was 4,736,734 ; in 1905-6 the total had grown to 10,461,117. The capital expended stood in 1895-6 at £3,917,905 ; in 1905-6 the corresponding total was £6,204,505. The revenue collected in 1895-6 was £598,330 ; in 1905-6 it amounted to £815,611. The working expenses in 1895-6 were £385,582 ; in 1905-6 they amounted to £599,052. The net revenue in 1895-6 was accordingly £212,784 ; in 1905-6 it stood at £216,559. The most profitable year during the past decade was 1897-8, when the net revenue amounted to £310,608. The return obtained upon the capital expended stood in 1895-6 at 5.43 percent.; in 1905-6 it had declined to 3.49 percent. The best year in the decade was 1897-1, when the net return obtained was 7.40 percent.

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Indian Coal-Mining

Coal-mining is growing in importance in British India, although the progress made year by year is not very rapid. In the decade ending with 1906 inclusive, the annual production of Bengal, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Assam, Burma, Baluchistan, Central India, Hyderabad, and Bikaner, was as follows:—

| Year. | | Tons. | Value £ |
|-------|-----|-----------|------------|
| 1897 | ... | 4,066,294 | 835,025 |
| 1898 | ... | 4,608,196 | 957,163 |
| 1899 | ... | 5,093,260 | 1,063,820 |
| 1900 | ... | 6,118,692 | 1,343,081 |
| 1901 | ... | 6,635,727 | 1,323,372 |
| 1902 | ... | 7,423,342 | 1,366,909 |
| 1903 | ... | 7,437,387 | 1,299,716 |
| 1904 | ... | 8,216,436 | 1,398,824 |
| 1905 | ... | 8,417,739 | 1,419,443 |
| 1906 | ... | 9,783,250 | 1,912,043 |

The greater part of the coal made available for consumption in British India is produced in Bengal, which turned out the following quantities year by year in the period under review:—

| Year. | Ton. | Year. | Tons. |
|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| 1897 | ... | 1902 | ... |
| 1898 | ... | 1903 | ... |
| 1899 | ... | 1904 | ... |
| 1900 | ... | 1905 | ... |
| 1901 | ... | 1906 | ... |
| | 3,142,497 | | 6,259,236 |
| | 3,622,090 | | 6,361,212 |
| | 4,035,265 | | 7,063,680 |
| | 4,978,492 | | 7,234,103 |
| | 5,487,585 | | 8,617,820 |

It will be seen that in the course of the past decade the general coal-production of British India was more than doubled, while a commencement was made with coal-mining in an altogether new district—that of Bikaner.

India's Woollen Industry, 1906

A memorandum has been issued by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence at Calcutta, dealing with the woollen industry of India in 1906. The woollen mills of India, six in number, represent a paid-up capital of £281,027, and Debentures to the value of £26,667. In addition to this, there is a small private mill at Bombay, the capital of which is not stated. Two of the mills, those at Cawnpore in the United Provinces and at Dhariwal in the Punjab, have between them a paid-up capital of £200,000, or 70 per cent. of the whole. The value of the outturn

of these two mills represents 81 per cent. of the total outturn of the Indian mills. They weave cloth for the use of the army and police, and articles of superior quality generally, using for the high-class goods Australian wool, either pure or mixed with Indian wool. There has been no large increase in the amount of capital employed since 1898, though the number of persons employed and the number of looms and spindles have risen. The quantity and value of the goods produced was larger in 1905 than in any previous year, but in 1906 the production fell off considerably, and the quantity was actually smaller than that produced in 1898, though the value, in consequence of the high price of wool, was greater. The quantity of woollen goods imported is very much greater than the production of the Indian mills. The largest classes of the imports are piece-goods and shawls, the bulk being received from the United Kingdom and Germany. The woollen goods imported in 1906 were valued at £1,333,902, and the production of Indian mills at £232,120, as compared with £1,667,290 and £295,259 respectively in 1905. There are in various places factories for the weaving of carpets and rugs, and of pattu and pashmina, but though these industries are in the aggregate extensive, they are individually small, and weaving is done on hand-loom. The exports of woollen goods from India consist almost entirely of carpets and rugs, of which about two-thirds go to the United Kingdom, and the greater part of the remainder to the United States. The exports of Indian carpets and rugs during the year was valued at £137,523, against £119,156 in 1905.

REVIEWS & NOTICES

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION IN U. P.

[*The Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province*, By—THEODORE MORISON. JOHN MURRAY, 1906.]

Mr. Theodore Morison's *Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province* was published nearly a year ago, and we wonder how many educated Indians have read or seen this work. To bring this book more prominently before the attention of the Indian reading public, we think it our duty to put in this notice of it, however belated it be.

We have very few books on Indian economics, for the science of economics has not hitherto lent itself much to constructive speculation. Of the few works that exist on the subject, Mr. Morison's is perhaps the most interesting. Mr. Morison does not err on the side of ambition, nor does he cast his net wide; for he does not deal in this work with abstract principles of economics nor with such theories of the 'dismal science' as are only of universal application.

The late Principal of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh makes an exhaustive study of the economic phenomena of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and notes all the peculiarities of the industrial life of the people of those provinces. He himself describes his work as a contribution towards the collection of evidence on the economic facts of Indian life. It must not be, therefore, understood that the book under review is a mere record of facts, but it also deals considerably with discussion of principles as well as with their application to the observed facts of Indian society.

Mr. Morison's reason for confining his attention to one particular province is to bring out distinctly the essential features of a particular type of industrial organisation in India and to see that the picture produced is not "blurred and confused." If equally competent observers could be found to study the economic conditions of the other principal provinces of India, the economic history of India could be reconstructed on a scientific basis. As it is, Mr. Morison's work is singular in the field and no student of Indian politics or comparative economics can, therefore, afford to neglect it.

Mr. Morison begins by describing a typical Indian village and notes the different classes of people which inhabit it and describes

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their occupations. This leads him to discuss at length the question of land assessment, fixity of tenure, the nature and variety of the crops grown, the results of unrestrained competition for land and the relations that exist between the landlord and the Government on the one side and the landlord and the tenant on the other. This further leads him to an exhaustive enquiry into the indebtedness of the agricultural population of the United Provinces and to an examination of the comparative resources and difficulties of an Indian peasant and his confrère in the West. In this connection, Mr. Morison makes lengthy references to the agricultural indebtedness of the peasants in France, Austria, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Denmark and Belgium, and suggests remedies to relieve the chronic poverty of the Indian cultivator. Mr. Morison has got no new remedies to suggest, but lays particular stress on agricultural co-operation and the establishment of co-operative credit societies on the basis of the Raiffisen banks of Germany and, as suggested by the Famine Commissioners of 1880, on the diversion of the occupation of the people into industrial channels. Mr. Morison is not quite sure if the condition of the masses will be much alleviated by industrial or commercial operations either, for he maintains that industrial distress sometimes becomes as acute as agricultural, and that even England is not free from occasional depression. It is hoped, however, that by diverting a large number of people from agricultural occupation, the intensity and area of an average Indian famine might be reduced to the minimum.

After dealing exhaustively with the agricultural condition of the people of the United Provinces in all its various phases—the poverty, the capital and resources of the people, the conditions of labour, the conflict between competition and custom and the various relations of the peasant and the money-lender, the tenant and the landlord and the landlord and the Government—Mr. Morison proceeds to describe the other side of Indian village life. In this second portion of his book, he describes the condition of an average village artisan and puts in some notes on the habits, habitations, expenses and effects of an average industrial labourer in the United Provinces. In this portion also are crowded a large number of very useful and interesting tables and charts on the harvest and bazaar prices in several tracts of those provinces from about the commencement of the nineteenth century. In this part of the work also, our author takes an historical survey of the several famines that have devastated enormous population in India since the Mahomedan era.

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Mr. Morison does not like the word 'famine' and considers it 'inexact' in 'economic terminology,' which is a very different thing, we hope, from a 'terminological inexactitude.' However, whether he likes it or not, no man can replace the word 'famine' from the political or economic literature of India. From 1718 to 1799, he mentions twelve large famines as having occurred in different parts of India, including the great Bengal famine of 1769-70, a detailed account of which was supplied in a very impressive style by the late Sir William Hunter in his *Annals of Rural Bengal*. From the beginning of the nineteenth century down to 1840, Mr. Morison mentions of six acute local scarcities in the United Provinces, of each of which he gives us a short account. With the history of famines of the latter half of the nineteenth century every educated Indian must be thoroughly conversant. These latter-day famines Mr. Morison groups together as a special class, the characteristic of this group being reduced mortality, enormous state relief-works and the mobility of grain from all fortunate parts of India to the affected area—out of the zone of abundance to the region of scarcity.

In conclusion, Mr. Morison puts in a very informing chapter on prices of food-grains and their relation with wages and the currency. In this chapter our author unearths a very important table prepared by Mr. G. Herklots, Fiscal of Chinsura, and published in *Gleanings in Science*, a Calcutta periodical which had a brief life from 1829 to 1831. In this table we find the market prices of all food-grains and ghee and mustard oil in Lower Bengal from the year 1700 to 1813. We wish we could find space to reproduce this table, for a better material of the economic history of Bengal of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century cannot possibly be conceived. In this chapter also, Mr. Morison disposes of the theory that prices of commodities in India were ever regulated by custom,—a theory which has led to a considerable confusion of ideas regarding the condition of the people in pre-British days.

Whether a day shall ever come when the Indian peasant and the Indian artisan shall cease to be the victims of unhappy physical and economic forces is more than we know. But no well-wisher or friend of India should evade the study of the subject which alone holds in its dismal folds the future well-being of our people. With this object we recommend every educated Indian, however wise or educated he may be, to read carefully Mr. Morison's work, though it is modestly claimed as intended primarily for Indian students.

P. C. R.

THE PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

Madras

The Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, to whom more than one reference has been made in previous numbers of the *Indian World*, has succeeded Mr. Sankaran Nair as acting Advocate-General. Mr. Sivaswami Iyer is the third Indian Vakil of Madras to become Advocate-General. Nobody can question his eminent fitness for this position,—not even the European Barristers of Madras, to whom there is no one so poor as to do reverence. We hope the protest they have sent or mean to send to the Secretary of State will avail them nothing. As a man of learning and culture, as a lawyer of considerable erudition and soundness of judgment, as an educationist, as a public man, and, above all, as a man, Mr. Sivaswami Iyer holds a position entitling him to the esteem and regard of all ; and we congratulate the Government of Madras on securing his services as Advocate-General. Mr. R. Ramachandra Rao, the talented Statutory Civilian who has been Collector of Kurnool for several years, has been appointed Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies in succession to Dewan Bahadur P. Rajagopalachari. It is an excellent appointment which bodes well for the co-operative credit movement in this Presidency. It is to be hoped that an Indian officer of equal ability will be appointed to succeed Mr. Ramachandra Rao as Collector of Kurnool. The Government of Mysore have not yet filled the office of Chief-Judge of the Chief Court. I confess I can not for the life of me understand why such enormous delay should be made in so simple a matter. I say simple, because of the wealth of legal talent available in the Madras Presidency. I only repeat the hope expressed before that the post will not go to a European, be he a Civilian or a Barrister.

The Cocanada Riots Case
Dewan Bahadur M. C. Parthasarathy Iyenger, Sessions Judge of Godavari, has acquitted the two educated Indians who were convicted and sentenced to a monstrous term of imprisonment by the European Magistrate. The Judge has noted in the judgment all their good antecedents and found that there was absolutely no political motive at the bottom of the riot and added that Captain Kemp's assault on the

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repression of the Government have borne in upon us, that there must be a special class of ardent, cultured, and restrained patriots, who would make political work the sole occupation of their life. It was this consciousness that has persuaded the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to start an institution in Poona, called the Servants of India Society, much after the style of the Order of Jesuits who are devoted to religious work. The Servants of India Society is located in a sacred corner of Poona, sanctified already by the presence of two other noble institutions, the Fergusson College and the Widows' Home, in the midst of a very awe-inspiring and picturesque scenery. Under its rules, members are admitted for life, on their solemn affirmation to devote all their energies for the work and who in return are paid small stipends, barely enough for sustenance of life. The members live in the Home permanently and are sent out on different missions of a varied character. For instance, the task of canvassing subscribers for the Journal *India*, of collecting funds for an economic institution in Poona, and kindred purposes was well carried out by some of the members of this Society. Already, there are nine members in the Society, of whom three are Madrasis, one a Bengali, and five are Deccanis: the experiment has succeeded very well, and popular support is easily forth-coming. I hope, it will be imitated in the different provinces of the country, so as to place political activity on a permanent, uniform and definite basis.

One of the several activities which keeps members of the Society busy at present is the relief work for plague, which has been systematically started in Poona while the epidemic is in its infancy. The special feature of this attempt is that, for the first time, the Municipality, the Public and the Government have joined hands in adopting measures for preserving the people from this scourge. The share of the Government lies only in giving a grant of Rs. 30,000, which may be increased, if necessary, and by lending the services of a batch of efficient medical men to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. He has organised several committees consisting of the leading gentlemen in each division of the city, with whom the Municipality is in hearty co operation: public funds have also been added to this grant. The nature of the relief lies in (1) building huts for the poor in suitable places outside the town, (2) in opening centres for inoculation at convenient centres in the city (3) and in providing healthy food and timely medicine for those who cannot afford it. Inoculation being only one of the remedies yet known to combat the disease rapidly finds a place in

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the programme and is becoming daily popular, though the extreme school of politicians make it the sole cause for not helping this humanitarian cause altogether. Already, these relief operations have considerably checked the spread of the epidemic, compared with the terrible havoc caused in previous years. If the experiment, so well conducted, owing to the efforts of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale with the hearty co-operation of the leading citizens, succeeds in the end, we shall have to find the best mode of combining popular effort with state aid, and the plague-policy in India, which has been the cause of so much exasperation with so little result, will have much to gain from this little experience.

Bombay Presidency has so far justly boasted that its student-population have behaved with great self-restraint and patience at the present juncture, when their confreres in Bengal, Madras, and the Central Provinces have gone out of hand. One or two events have, however, lately occurred which threaten to drive them beyond the self-imposed limit owing to the over-anxiety of the state to preserve their equanimity. A student was dismissed in one meffusil school, for having attended a *Swadeshi* meeting ; a few more cases followed. Not content with dealing with their institutions, the authorities ordered a private institution like the Fergusson College to mete out the same punishment to its members. Naturally, the college-board refused to do so and it remains to be seen how far the Government will press its demand. Another incident occurred in the only arts college in Ahmedabad, which throws abundant light upon the prevailing tendencies both among the students as well as the authorities. The principal of this college, one Mr. Hirst, got annoyed with the students for some nonsense written on the wall of a neighbouring bridge derogatory to himself. Not being able to detect the culprit, he starved the boys in the evening by detaining them in the college-compound by physical force till a late hour in the night. The parents and guardians having complained to the Board of Management, he secured the assistance of some of his colleagues on the staff to give a distorted version, and when one Professor refused to join, he was degraded to the lowest rank on the list. At last, the Board after considerable vacillation, dismissed him for his misconduct. This should have satisfied the requirements of the case well enough. But, on the day he left, the students exhibited a very bad spirit in holding a grand entertainment, adorning the college-premises with lights and buntings. Who will not deplore such a spirit on the part of young students towards their teachers ?

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Race-bias in the West An important feature of the protest meeting held in Poona this month was a resolution passed condemning the attitude of the Government towards the disgraceful treatment accorded to Indians in Africa and America by the English-speaking races and the excellent speech delivered by Rai Bahadur G. V. Joshi, one of the most silent and efficient workers on this side of India. That the Indian Government, which is bound to interfere wherever injustice and oppression is done to Indians, should have remained perfectly unconcerned, and the British Cabinet should have declared its inability to intercede with the British colonies on behalf of another part of the Empire only shows how far the British Parliament and the Secretary of State care for the good of the Indian subjects. But this ill-treatment also shows something more deplorable than this. Where is the boasted civilisation of the West, and all her tall talk about equality and fraternity, if its most advanced nations will not even scruple to lynch the black and yellow population, to prevent them from eking out even a miserable sustenance in their territory? Race-bias and race-hatred could not have been carried to a worse stage. We are all so much taken up with our own troubles, that, unfortunately, we have not done enough to bring this deplorable phase to the notice of the civilised world. What an irony of fate that the white races should call upon us to do away with the caste-system when their own confreres are exhibiting the worst features of the same spirit in the most enlightened part of the world.

D. G. D.

THE UNITED PROVINCES

Famine Famine may be said to have set in right earnest, and it threatens to be one of the severest these Provinces have had to endure for many a long year. Not only will it be severe in its intensity, but the entire Provinces will be affected. As week after week we read the season reports of the *Gazette*, we come across only one monotonous repetition of the tale of no rain and high prices. What were formerly famine prices have for sometime become the ordinary prices, and an increase over these again has only one meaning to the people. Misery and starvation and disease and death induced by starvation, this is the cry that we shall hear on all sides for, I fear, at least a year to come. The mass of the people are absolutely resourceless and the State relief-works alone stand between them and

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death from starvation. It is a fortunate circumstance that we have at present Sir John Hewett at the head of the administration. He is an able, strong and sympathetic ruler, and we may be sure that nothing that a liberal system of famine relief and liberal remissions and suspensions of land revenue can do will be left undone. We had Sir Antony MacDonnell as Lieutenant-Governor ten or eleven years ago when there was a severe famine, and he did much and did it well for the behoof of the stricken people. But in spite of the legend that the relief sanctioned by him was over-liberal, it was not so as a matter of fact, and it was found in the event that the abnormal mortality due to famine was very severe in these Provinces. The most successful of the relief measures that we know of were those adopted in the Central Provinces in the 1899-1901 famine, during the time when Sir Andrew Fraser was Chief Commissioner. Sir Antony MacDonnell's Commission, which sat subsequently, pronounced these measures, we believe, as unduly liberal and preferred those adopted in these Provinces during his own time ; but as has been pertinently remarked on this piece of criticism, the real test of success was the saving of human life ; and judged by this only unerring test, it was his own much belauded famine administration that was a failure. We may be confident that all these facts will be borne in mind by Sir John Hewett, and that he will come out with flying colours when we shall have passed through the impending crisis and the time comes to take stock of the achievements and failures of the administration. The liberal remission and suspension of land-revenue and *tagai* that his Honour has sanctioned and the vigilance and preparedness for the coming combat that are displayed on all sides are indeed very encouraging signs.

It is the lower middle class that will really be in the most pitiable plight. Already, in the best of times, it has become next to impossible for them to maintain their self-respect and station in life and live decently as their forefathers used to do. The necessities of life have increased, the prices of provisions have tremendously gone up, and their means have become contracted. Before our very eyes we have been witnessing nothing less than an economic revolution which has affected the lower middle class, and among them again, those living in towns, most cruelly. For no fault of their own these families find themselves stranded. And as the lower middle class are always the salt of the community, the causes of their degradation and impoverishment and remedies deserve urgently to be investigated into. And the famine relief fund that will no doubt

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be raised from private subscription should be so administered that some real relief can be afforded to them, without their self-respect being compromised. This last point is of the first importance as they will neither consent to be relieved of their distress by means which involved compromise of their self-respect, nor is it good for the community at large that they should be pauperised. For this sort of relief work, of course the leaders of the Indian community must come forward, as the officials of Government will not ordinarily be able to do this delicate work in the manner that it should be done. We have little doubt that they will so come forward. Of individual, scattered, private charity there will be no lack, as there never is and has been among Indians, but what is wanted to meet a serious situation is organised and properly administered charity. Let at least a few of our leading men set before themselves the example of Sir Bepin Krishna Bose, who did yeoman's service in the famine of 1896-8 and of 1899-1901 as Secretary of the famine-relief Committee at Nagpur. For the rest, we can only put our confiding and humble trust in God and reverentially pray that the hardships of the people may be *reduced* to the minimum.

I make no excuse for again and again recurring to the work before our newly started public bodies. Political activity is the least in these Provinces. Educationally they are the most backward. Religious reform has almost no chance in these Provinces of shrines and temples and holy rivers, while social reform, too, has made less progress than in several other parts of the country. Of industrial advancement the less said the better. Of newspapers we have but two, *The Advocate* and *The Indian People*, both weeklies, neither of them very flourishing. The Provinces have suffered very much from plague and they are destined to be in the throes of a severe famine during the coming months. Such being the facts of the situation, the responsibility that rests on the few public-spirited men we have is great indeed at the present juncture. The first United Provinces Conference was held this year, and the United Provinces Association established. This body must justify itself in the eyes of the people by doing its duty at the present critical time. There is the Council "reform" scheme which has to be attacked ; there is the Decentralisation Commission before which evidence should be given ; there is the new terror of the Public Meetings Prohibition Act ; there is the famine relief problem and that of plague ; we have also to consider the expected Provincial financial settlement and the scheme of tech-

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technical education and industrial development that will result will come as the result of the recent Nainital Conference. The greatest weakness of what has come to be known, rightly or wrongly, as the Moderate side in Indian politics is the indifference and apathy of the party and its organisations on occasions when the public mind is agitated most by questions of almost life and death. Any one who can see the handwriting on the wall will tell that, if it is to persist in this attitude of indifference, the Moderate party will be simply signing its own death-warrant. Now I happen to know that it is the intention of the promoters of the United Provinces Association that it should be a body of Moderate Politicians. If so, they must bestir themselves and do their duty as men and patriots if the Association is not to die an almost still-born infant.

If the Resolutions of the Nainital Industrial Conference will be accepted in their entirety by the Government of India the greatest boon will have been conferred on the people of these Provinces. To have the Thomason Engineering College at Roorkee enlarged; to have a completely equipped Technological College established at Cawnpore; to have half a dozen good, efficient, secondary Technical Schools at important centres like Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares, Agra, etc.; to have weaving Schools, schools of design, and similar other technical and industrial Schools; to have a thoroughly sound scheme of bifurcation of studies introduced into the high School course; to be given improved scientific education with better laboratories, and to have subsidies and other help given to industries requiring such assistance—all this will be an achievement of which any ruler may be proud. And Sir J. P. Hewett has had all this discussed and settled in the first year of his administration. The initial cost of his proposal comes to about 28 lakhs and the recurring cost to about eight lakhs. These figures may appear large, compared with the amount of present expenditure on technical education; but what are they by the side of the outlay on the same item in the more fortunate countries of the West and in Japan? We hope the Government of India will not raise the objections that, if Sir J. P. Hewett's scheme is sanctioned, similar demands will be made by other Provincial Governments. For, it is but right that a sound system of technical education should be developed in every Province of British India. If the truth is to be plainly told, it is nothing less than a scandal that well-governed provinces of British rule are not with a high incidence of Imperial and local taxation, doing more than a single technical college in all India which can be considered

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in the same breath with even the second-class institutions of other countries. It is to the credit of Sir John Hewett that he is anxious to remove this reproach ; we hope we shall be able to say that it is to the credit of Lord Minto's Government that they have not thrown any obstacles in his way and have willingly sanctioned his scheme.

Upon

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Mr. Keir Hardie, the tough champion of a not very favourite cause that he has been all his life, must be used to interested abuse, but still he must have had experiences in this line during his visit to Bengal that should give him furiously to think. Scarcely has silly reporting and malignant telegrams played such pranks in the political world as on the occasion of his visit to Bengal. On the one hand there was the exultant Indian Press reporting every one of his chance and half-serious statements as serious political pronouncements ; and on the other hand we have the ever-ready representatives of the worst elements of Anglo-Indian journalism indulging in language that would disgrace Billingsgate and backing up their views by three-fourth lies with a slight flavour of truth just to whet your confidence. One Anglo-Indian newsman on this side of India—for the *Englishman* and Baron Reuter make up between them but one personality—has shown revolting malignity in misrepresenting every word and deed of the great Labour Leader with such effect that even Mr. Morley has been led to vent his spleen over Mr. Hardie's alleged utterances in unworthy terms in his valedictory address at Arbroath. I speak of malignity deliberately, for no amount of allowance for honest mistake can take away the mischief out of the cabling of garbled quotations from the *Indian Daily News*, or of representing Mr. Keir Hardie's statement at Calcutta as confirming the first reports of Reuter, even if it does excuse the interpretation of the *Bengalee's* telegram about his comparison of Mymensing riots to Turkish atrocities in Armenia as referring to the acts of *officials* in that connection.

The cloud of misrepresentation which was thus spread over Mr. Keir Hardie's Enquiries and Experiences has been slowly clearing away and people are understanding him and his mission better—no thanks to Reuter ; but in the meantime while crediting him now with honesty and moderation, the orthodox Anglo-Indian press of the rest of India have been quietly assu-

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ing that Mr. Keir Hardie has been seeing only one side of the question, just what the Bengalee boycotters choose to show him. This is evidently meant to discredit his experiences, though Mr. Keir Hardie chose his own informants wherever he went. He saw the Magistrates of every place, he saw leaders of Mahomedans as well as Hindus, he saw the peasant in his own hut and he accepted the opinion of no one but gathered facts from every one of them. These facts he tested with the most searching enquiries and he only accepted such as bore the light of such enquiry. So far as Mr. Keir Hardie goes, we may trust him to take care of himself.

The Provincial Congress Committee has at last been formed in Bengal and has held a meeting. It was realised at the last moment that holding District conferences may be the ideal mode for the upbuilding of the constitution of the Congress, but expedition of work is likely to be better achieved by beginning at something short of the ideal, and so a Provincial Congress Committee has been formed which is not ideally complete or perfect but may be depended upon to do the work famously all the same. The committee has only been formed one month and predictions about it one way or the other is futile and might be mischievous. We have to wait and see how it works. I shall only point out that, as Babu Motilal Ghose said the other day, there is plenty of work in the way of the upbuilding of the nation to which we should address ourselves without delay and to these the Committee should devote its best attention. But among the most pressing works before us, I think, there is one which wants immediate attention. It is the discussion of the subjects to be placed for consideration before the Congress this session, so that we may bring forward well-considered resolutions instead of the hasty and sometimes meaningless makeshifts which we permit to be placed on the agenda paper. Of these questions, there are two at any rate which I think ought to be seriously thought over and deliberated upon this year. One is the question of the constitution of the Congress and the other that of the reforms in the constitution of the Government of India. A tentative constitution was laid down last year, for one year only. Since then we have made some progress in organisation, and we from Bengal ought to be ready with a completer scheme to form the foundation of a permanent constitution for the Congress by way of amendment of last year's tentative resolution. About the ques-

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tion of the Government of India, so long as no reform proposals were in the air the Congress was content to adopt hasty resolutions drafted to the taste of one or other of its leaders. We have found now how we grievously erred in making our proposals, and now that a modification in the Government is suggested we should give our best consideration to the question and decide upon the constitution of the Indian Empire which we think ought to be the goal of all reforms and also upon the steps that ought to be immediately taken for the furtherance of that end. These we should place before the Government, whether the Government chooses to profit by our advice or not; for we must not forget that we are the trustees of mute millions and generations yet unborn and if from despondency or a sense of injured pride we fail to do our duty in placing our views before the Government at this time, we shall be ill worthy of our trust.

Second to none in importance of all the events of the last month are the Calcutta riots. Two years ago such a thing was unthinkable. About a decade ago there were serious riots in Calcutta when the lowest strata of the Mussulman population were furiously inflamed and the whole of Calcutta was thrown into a panic. But then the appearance of the Police upon the scene settled all scores, and, though unprotected places were sometimes the scenes of rowdysim, the *lal puggree* had only to put in appearance to disperse crowds of rioters. Only the other day there was a free fight between the *Kabulis* and the Police in Burrabazar, and, though the Police were ousted, the appearance of the *Burra sahib* on the scene quieted down things altogether. Here on the contrary not only were the Police present on the scene in great force, but there is a mass of positive evidence to show that loot and assault were extensively and indiscriminately committed by the Police and by *goondas* under the protection of Police. We note below some of the patent facts of the case. There was a meeting in Beadon Square, where, as is not unusual, inconsiderable and violent speeches were made. The Police were present in considerable numbers—it has been the practice of the Police to assemble in tremendous force on the occasions of public meetings of late. While one of the violent speeches was being delivered, one of the police officers alleged that stones were being thrown at them and he consequently ordered the meeting to disperse. After some hesitation the meeting dispersed. Just when the people were leaving the place, the Police, numbering by different accounts to anything between 80 and 200, began to

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belabour the crowd indiscriminately with regulation lathies, without the slightest allegation of any further provocation. The crowd began to run away, but it was found that the gates of the Park were closed all round. The crowd jumped over the railings as best as they could and soon the venue was transferred to the roads. Here the Police in batches went about swinging regulation lathies and letting them fall on whomsoever they chose. Then came the retaliation and some people turned back, others turned up just then prepared to fight rather than be so mercilessly belaboured, and the Police, now scattered over a wide surface, suffered much more than they had bargained for, anything serving the assailants for a weapon, from the regulation lathies snatched from solitary *parawallas* to brickbats picked up from the streets or showered from roofs of houses. By 9 in the night the disturbance ceased and the Police fairly showed their heels. Their assailants also dispersed so completely and effectually that when the Police reinforcements arrived in formidable numbers later in the night, there was no one to be seen on the streets. From that moment till two days following there was a reign of terror in and about Beadon Square. Strong guards of Police patrolled the streets night and day, assaulted whomsoever they found risking a walk on the street, got into gharries and tram cars, belaboured passengers indiscriminately and at least assaulted one European passenger. It was during these two days and late in the night of the last that the arrests were made, the assailants of the Police on the first day having cleared off without any arrests being made. During the nights shops were looted, some by *goondas*, others by *goondas* who were followed by a protecting police force and others again by the Policemen themselves. In their mad revenge on innocent inhabitants of the locality for acts done by members of an assembly coming from different parts of the town, the Police sometimes got some very nasty hits. One sergeant had his right hand cut off in what the Lieutenant-Governor chooses to call a dastardly attack when the gallant officer was making a raid on, and was actually half up the steps to the first floor of, a private dwelling house. Others got less serious injuries, and by the next day all disturbance ceased.

A simple narration of the incidents of the case is enough to make the blood boil, for it is patent that in the first place the Police began the assault without provocation, and in the second place when their real assailants had totally cleared off the Police made most cowardly assaults on innocent passers-by and completely terrorised the people of the

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locality. The Police authorities evidently thought that it was this sort of things that they were paid for, and it were time that the authorities should set matters right if they do not want the people to seriously take the law into their own hands. But the Government does not seem to have taken as serious notice of the incident as such atrocities committed by the keepers of peace in the heart of the metropolis and some of it in full daylight demanded. The gravity of the situation might have called down the highest officials of the State from their empyrean heights, and a most sifting enquiry by an independent commission ought to have been made. But from the serene atmosphere of Darjeeling, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal appointed a single civilian, Mr. Collin, to enquire into the affair. Even that dignitary had only two days to work before he left for England on leave, and he was sufficiently unimpressed with the gravity of the situation to feel it convenient to leave for England with the enquiry unfinished. The scandal of the insufficient enquiry was too glaring to let the Government sleep in peace, and some time afterwards the Government appointed another civilian, an ex-Presidency Magistrate, to hold the enquiry anew. Mr. Weston has been holding his enquiries. Meanwhile the Government, relying upon the report of Mr. Collin, whose insufficient enquiry the Government strongly condemns, has published a resolution completely whitewashing the Police and laying all sorts of charges against the people. The impression has got hold of the public mind that the Government rather likes the scandal to be hushed up than the offenders to be brought to book.

Meanwhile a People's Commission was appointed consisting of some of our more prominent citizens to inquire into the riots, with Mr. Narendranath Sen in the chair. It has just finished a strictly public enquiry into the affair on the very spot, and its report is a strong condemnation of the action of the Police.

The whole mischief was done by quartering the police force in such large numbers on the public squares and by trying to shadow public meetings by a considerable display of lathies and *lal puggrees*. Violent meetings have, it is true, been held in Calcutta and Bengal ere now, but no meeting of boycotters has up till now led to any disturbance whatsoever. What then was the justification for quartering from a hundred to 200 policemen in the squares except to terrorise people and to scare them away from joining meetings? If this was the object it had notoriously failed, for meetings in public

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squares used to call forth as many men as before. Was it for this that the Police sought to make a more striking demonstration by a *coup de main* in Beadon Square? On any other hypothesis the situation is inexplicable. There was nothing in the Beadon Square meeting of this date to distinguish it from scores of others. There were violent speeches possibly, but then there were scores of meetings in which violent speeches were delivered and in some of these cases offenders have been hauled up before the courts. Had the police come to think that this method of checking sedition was inefficient and the more convincing argument of the lathi-blow was needed to settle seditionists? Why else did they belabour the meeting with lathies when the people were beginning to disperse? Why again were the gates found closed when the people thus struck madly rushed for them? The Police authorities ought to be asked to answer these questions.

The silliness of all attempts to terrorise meetings is however never better understood than when the Beadon Square scandal is compared with the demonstration on the 30th of Aswin, the 17th October—the anniversary of the Partition of Bengal. On that day there was a great demonstration on the abandoned site of the proposed Federation Hall. By different accounts the number is estimated at from 10 to 50 thousands. I am reminded at this discrepancy of the report of a particular meeting in an Indian paper of which the head-line was, "*a great demonstration : : 0,000 men assembled.*" I think it was a very judicious head-line which left the initial digit to be chosen according to the taste of the reader, thanks to the ingenuity of our friend, the Printer, often ycleped the Devil. However, as I was not present at the meeting I must follow that classic precedent and let the initial digit be filled up by my readers. Now, at this meeting, the proceedings were extremely orderly and dignified. People had bargained for a totally different conclusion and the lily-livered amongst them had begun to dread a renewal of the Beadon Square outrages on a magnified scale, for it had got out that not only was the whole police force getting into readiness but the military was to be called out. The situation was, however, saved by the opportune intervention of the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendranath Bose and the statesman-like attitude of the Government of Bengal. Mr. Bhupendranath Bose gave an undertaking to the Government that there would be no disturbance if only the Government would keep away its police. Now Mr. Bhupendranath happens, of all the popular leaders, to command the confidence of the Government and

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Mr. Gait promptly came down to Calcutta and countermanded the police arrangements that were being made against contingency of a disturbance on the 17th October. The result was a most peaceful and well conducted meeting without the disquieting presence of a strong police force. It is quite clear that if the Government had chosen to send the Police and the military to the meeting a sanguinary riot would have taken place. Put the lessons of the two meetings together and let the Government draw its own conclusions. In connection with this meeting, it would be an act of injustice to ignore the speech delivered by its President, Mr. Matilal Ghose of the *Patrika*. The veteran journalist had some very strong hits against the powers that be and some very shrewd observations on the methods of repression now in vogue throughout the country ; but the best part of the speech was the portion in which he put forward a very well-considered and eminently practicable programme of work for his countrymen which, moderate or extremist, every one will do well to follow and promote.

The mad hunt after sedition by the Government of Bengal
Sedition Trials seems to be rapidly drawing to a close. The case against Mr. A. C. Banerji, Bar-at-law, has been withdrawn, on that gentleman apologising. The *Sandhya* trial has at last collapsed by the sudden death of the editor, Upadhyaya Brahmandhab, and it seems likely that the prosecution will be dropped. Only one or two small cases remain to be disposed of to end the chapter of sedition trials in Bengal, and the Government of Bengal does not now seem to show anything like the fascination for such trials that it was wont to show of late. Altogether a healthier atmosphere seems to pervade the counsel of the government at the present time, and if this tendency to take a sane view of things continues we may hope for some peace for some time.

Meanwhile the public squares of Calcutta lie under a ban.
Calcutta Proclaimed The Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta has issued an order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code interdicting public meetings in almost all public squares of Calcutta. The section in question is a very handy one and has been put to various uses in connection with repressive measures, but with all that, the present seems to be a somewhat novel use of the law. It would be the height of legal ingenuity to hold that the section could by any manner of means be strained to meet a case like the present ; if it were put to test the chances are that it would be set aside. But the people are evidently

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not in a mood to play hide and seek with the Government, for if this order is set aside, there is nothing to prevent the Government from proclaiming Calcutta under the Ordinance or better still under the law that will shortly be passed. So the Calcutta public seems to be content to let meetings alone and profit by other channels of work left to them. Meanwhile, what with the Police riots and the Injunction and with the dogged attitude of the Government, the tenacity of the hold of *swadesi* on people's minds is certainly growing, and, I am told, at the last pujan sales, foreign goods were very largely at a discount.

LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS

THE MOSLEM LEAGUE

Mr. Edward E. Lang, who professes to be an ardent advocate of Mahomedan interests in India, contributes a rather lengthy paper dealing with the aims and objects of 'The All-India Moslem League' to the September number of the *Contemporary Review*. According to the writer, the last days of the past year marked the birth of the Moslem League, the object of which is to promote feelings of loyalty to the British Government, to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intentions of Government with regard to any of its measures, to protect and to advance the political rights and interests of the Mahomedans of India, to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to Government, and to prevent the growth among Indian Mussulmans of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the principal objects of the League.

In order to give a succinct account of the present attitude of the Mahomedan community in India regarding Indian politics, the writer goes back to the dark days following the great mutiny of 1857 when, says he, the condition of the Mahomedans was pitiable in the extreme. With the fall of the Moghuls, the power of the aristocracy had been shattered. There was no educated middle class ; and between the members of ruined noble families and the illiterate masses, the cause of the Indian Mahomedans suffered beyond description. Syed Ahmed Khan now appeared in the field. The heroic part he played in the suppression of the mutiny is well known. With keen intellect he grasped the main factors of the problem and realised that the old order was bound to pass away yielding place to new. He perceived that the destruction of Islam as a political power in India was an accomplished fact. Further he keenly felt the need of education amongst Mahomedans, in order that they might be able to qualify themselves to take their proper share in the Government of the country. Syed Ahmed preached the doctrine of education only. By him the Mahomedan Educational Conference was established in the year 1886 ; it was organised as an educational movement purely. For twenty years now the Conference has met, and loyalty, according

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to Mr. Lang, has been the key-note of its deliberations. Whenever it has been found necessary to approach the Government, the Conference has done so in a dignified and orderly manner.

But the events of the past few years have told their tale. In the absence of any political organisation, the interests of the Mahomedans have suffered deeply. In a conference held in the year 1906 it was decided that the Mahomedans should in the future take active steps to protect their political rights. Thus the seed sown by Syed Ahmed is just beginning to bear fruit. The Mahomedans are awakening to a sense of their responsibility in the matter of the government of this country ; they now realise that unless they take advantage of the western system of education to the fullest extent, they must be left behind in the struggle for power.

Now the die has been cast and the Mahomedans have come out boldly as a political party. Mr. Lang draws out a comparison in his own way between the methods employed by them and those adopted by what he calls the 'Hindu National Congress.' The writer then gives lengthy quotations from the Address presented by the Mahomedan Deputation to Lord Minto which he characterises as loyal to the very core. According to Mr. Lang, the Mahomedans do not ask for a pro-Mahomedan policy ; they merely demand fair representation in proportion to their importance as a community. On the whole, Mr. Lang seems to be 'enamoured' of the address and has nothing but praise for it. So great is his interest in the welfare of our Mahomedan brethren that, in his opinion, no Britisher needs have any cause to fear the formation of the 'All India Moslem League,' the object of which is only to help the Government of India in the administration of the country, and not to hinder it. It has nothing to do with Pan-Islamism. Its birth signifies that the Mahomedans are only claiming that right to which every free-born man is entitled. Its watchword is 'defence, not defiance.' Its present endeavour is to make Mahomedans all better men and better citizens of that great British Empire to which they belong, an honour of which they are justly proud and one which they will never depreciate by word or deed.

PLAGUE IN INDIA

A very readable paper on this subject of vital importance is published in the *Sanitary Record* of London in its issue of the 29th August. The following statements, taken mostly from the article under notice, may be of interest to the readers of the *Indian World*.

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At the very outset the writer refers to the sympathetic letter on the subject which King Edward VII addressed to H. E. Lord Minto on the 14th August and states that at the present time plague is the greatest scourge from which India suffers. Though great schemes of artificial irrigation and railway extension have been of considerable assistance in mitigating the severity of famines in India, the efforts made to combat the plague have not met with corresponding success and the present year bids fair to set up a record in the terrible mortality from this disease. Seven years ago there were reasonable grounds for hoping that plague was gradually being brought under control in India. The official records in 1900 showed that during that year there were under 93,000 deaths from plague, and this seemed a matter for congratulation. But the figures up to the first three months and a half only of the present year represent 495,000 deaths from plague—an appalling total that may well excite the sympathy of the King-Emperor.

The writer approvingly quotes a passage from the *Morning Post* to show that this return of plague in its old severity is due to no want of care on the part of the Government of India ; on the contrary the story of the work undertaken by the authorities will 'set the blood tingling through the veins through the records of noble devotion and self-sacrifice to duty.' We are sorry to remark that this statement is nothing if not a highly-coloured and exaggerated piece of bluff, and that though the Government have taken some small measures to drive the plague out of India, an overwhelming amount of work still remains to be done in this connection. The current number of the *Hindustan Review* pertinently asks how much money have the Government 'expended during these ten terrible years on sanitary measures, particularly on the extension and rebuilding of cities and towns with a view to mitigate the enormous evils of over-crowding in ill-built houses ?'

Constant research, says the writer, has gone forward in the Plague Research Laboratory at Parel in Bombay and considerable success has been achieved in this direction. The plague germ has been discovered and isolated, and a prophylactic has been produced which, by means of inoculation, offers every prospect of lessening the severity of an attack, even if it does not absolutely guarantee immunity from the disease to those who suffer themselves to be inoculated. The writer then refers to the difficulties that the Government had had to surmount in order to introduce inoculation to which our people had the strongest

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aversion and says that in other directions, however, distinct progress has been made. The Plague Research Committee appointed in 1905 have, according to the writer, added greatly to the existing knowledge of the disease and its causes. Their greatest achievement was the definite confirmation of the theory that the principal means of the transmission of plague was by rats, of which India emphatically possesses more than its fair supply. Further than this, it was established that the rats themselves could not convey the disease, but that it was the presence of a definitely located parasite, *pulex cheopis*, that was really responsible for the spread of the scourge. This discovery demonstrated the fact that the plague bacilli is never found 'free,' but that the insects breed it into the rats, who, in their turn, convey it to human beings.

It is now a fact accepted by bacteriologists and other authorities in India that future efforts to stay the ravages of the plague must first and foremost be concentrated upon the extermination of the rats. This will be a gigantic task, says the writer. Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, and, indeed, every town and village from north to south and from east to west, swarms with rats who multiply at an alarming rate. Much may be done, of course, in the erection of new buildings to see that these are as rat-proof as human skill and ingenuity can make them, and this is something that is being impressed most carefully upon every local building authority in India at the present time. The writer takes it for granted that a systematic and sustained effort to exterminate the rats will be undertaken before long. It is not going to be the work of a year, nor possibly a decade, to lessen appreciably the ravages of plague in India, but it seems certain that we are at this moment on the threshold of one of the most determined efforts that have ever been put forward, in this direction and it will be the earnest hope of the whole civilised world that this effort may meet with success.

MINING INDUSTRY IN INDIA

A very useful account of the above subject appears in a recent issue of the *Colliery Guardian* of London. The writer begins by saying that it is difficult to realise the importance of the coal-mining industry of India, even if we note, with eyes trained to the valuation of statistical results, the great strides that it has made in recent years; for the conditions under which it is carried on are fundamentally different from those that obtain elsewhere, and its significance from both a commercial and a social standpoint is greater

than can be conveyed in any tabular statement. Mere figures alone, however, will give some conception of the advance that has taken place, for last year the output of Indian coal, which reached the sum of 9,783,250 tons, valued at £1,912,043, exceeded that of the previous year by no less than $1\frac{3}{4}$ million tons, and was, roughly, five times greater than the output of 1891. In the interim has been witnessed the development of an important export trade; 940,284 tons were shipped out of the country last year, and Indian coal is now a successful competitor with British, Australian and Japanese coal in the Far and Middle East.

It is in India itself, however, that a cheap coal supply is especially valuable, and although the bulk of the output still comes from the province of Bengal, the discoveries made by the Geological Survey of India in the more remote districts of the Empire are for this reason of the utmost importance. When contrasting the present position of the Indian mining industries with their condition some few years since the writer is compelled to an admiration of the administration which has brought order out of chaos and established for itself a very considerable respect both in India and abroad. It will not be invidious in this connection to mention two names—those of Mr. T.H.Holland, F.R.S., the Director of the Geological Survey of India, and Mr. W. H. Pickering, the Chief Inspector of Mines—who not only have, in a very short period, brought their respective departments to a high pitch of efficiency but have interested themselves in the industry to an extent uncommon to officialdom. In his presidential address to the members of the Geological and Mining Society of India, Mr. Holland gave a clear statement of what he regarded as the functions of his office, declaring that the official geologist must remember that “his work should aim in the long run at the development of our mineral resources,” and that he has no right to spend the taxpayers’ money to run “hobbies of his own.” He held that, although a geological survey has nothing to do with the actual work of mining, it is necessary for it to maintain an intelligence branch capable of making a general statistical survey of the industry, and to keep in touch with the mining industry. It is a great satisfaction that this *entente* should have practically become a reality in India, because it is a common experience to find the mining engineer and the geologist ploughing their lonely and parallel furrows without the slightest attempt in the direction of co-operation.

Such *ententes* do not usually come to pass without some self-sacrifice; probably to Mr. Holland himself the most conspicuous

achievement of his department has been the establishment, through the agency of Mr. H.H.Hayden, of the age of the base of the Gondwana series, but it says much for his breadth of view that he has not allowed his interest in this and similar discoveries to overpoise his interests in economic geology, which has a closer and more immediate relation to the mining industries of the country. In the Mining and Geological Institute of India the interests of the mining engineer and the scientific geologist are most happily wedded. At present Mr. Holland's sympathies lie in the development of the metalliferous industries of India rather than in any abnormal extension of coal-mining, his object being the justifiable one of substituting for the primitive system of quick production and barter, more highly developed processes, for the pursuit of which the native Indian is highly adapted. Yet it goes without saying that the coal-mining industry has a close interest in any such movement.

With the caste system prevalent in India it is a by no means easy task to induce the easy-going natives to follow new crafts and turn their ready wits to advantage. This being so, it is extremely gratifying to read of the progress in this direction recorded in Mr. Pickering's latest report. That the Indian is capable of acquiring considerable skill in most mining operations is, he says, evident on every hand, and he thinks the Punjabis, the Santhals of Chota Nagpur, and the Telegu-speaking natives of Madras are likely to become of the greatest value in the mining industry whilst, contrary to expectations, the Burmans have adapted themselves to mining as a craft with much success.

The education question is perhaps of equal importance in view of the fact that coal-mining in Bengal will, within the next few years, make greatly-increased calls upon the technical ability of managers and workers alike. Not only are deeper seams now being developed, but waste in working is becoming a more important factor than it was in the early days of the industry. Here, too, the great advances that have taken place since Mr. Pickering was first "lent" to the Indian Government show that these exigencies of the future are being properly appreciated and guarded against.

The writer concludes by expressing the hope that the measures now being taken by Mr. Morley in the direction of improving the equipment of the railways may remove what has hitherto proved to be the chief obstacle to the expansion of the Indian mining industry.

NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE MONTH

THE 'PIONEER' ON THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

Ten years ago when the defects of the most perfect system of administration in the world were pointed out, it was tacitly assumed that the blame lay with the people rather than with the Government. The dictum of Sir Fitz James Stephen and Sir John Strachey that the Government could not be popular because it was too good was regarded as conclusive in itself and specially creditable to the Government. Again one heard almost *ad nauseam* the saying of Lord Lawrence that the people in British territory ought to be happier than the people in Native States *sua si bona norint* if they were only wise enough to know what was good for them. No one can question the zeal, devotion, or ability of these giants of the olden time; but it illustrates the change in the atmosphere that sayings which then appeared to be natural, conclusive, almost axiomatic should now sound arrogant and pedagogic. They have simply passed out of the political language of the day. The closer connection of England with India, the growing power and influence of the mercantile community, the growth in India of an educated class have brought new currents of thought into play. The most perfect system of administration which the world has ever seen has come to be regarded by many, and an increasing number, as a top-heavy bureaucratic hierarchy, Byzantine in method if not in spirit, hide-bound by precedent and theory, detached from practical conditions, mechanical and doctrinaire. The pendulum is on the swing, and a Commission is coming to India to make the crooked paths straight. The reformer may soon find himself in a whirl of new proposals driven to justify some features, at any rate of the existing system. It is true that centralisation and uniformity were pushed to very evil lengths under Lord Curzon's administration, that initiative was transferred from below to above, that secretariat vice has been naked and unashamed, that most persons in power have tried to force upon other provinces, the methods peculiar to their own province, that experts and the zealous departmentalists have been like the sons of Zerniah too hard for the people and it is also true that these shortcomings or excesses can to some extent be corrected by structural changes. But the really important thing is to change the ideas which permeate the political atmosphere, and this change, as already noticed, is working itself out. Great

THE NIZAM ON SYMPATHY

bodies move slow, but there is already a gratifying response to changes in elemental conditions.

The Government of India may be likened to a banian tree which throws down its roots from above in ever-lengthening colonnades : it is noble and majestic, it affords rest and shade to all ; but its own branches alone can grow up in its shadow. One of the first necessities of the time is to prune off Government action to let in light and shade. This will not be easy for officials struggling after perfection. They will have to be baptised again : to adore what they have burnt and born what they have adored : to look to substance not to form, to distinguish (the most difficult thing in the world) between means and ends, to find out what the people want not what they ought to. It will meet the case sufficiently for the time to look upon anything logical with suspicion, to value compromise, to meet one's adversary in the way, and above all to leave things alone. All this is counsel of perfection. Perhaps it may be summed up for practical purposes, in the language of the country, by describing it as a preference of what is *kachcha* over what is *pukka*. Half the defects of the present system are due to its over-elaboration of justice, for instance ; it is the most technical in the world : a large part of the Indian Law Reports is concerned with technical points, which good English lawyers would simply brush aside. It is so far reassuring that the new Civil Procedure Code marks a step in the right direction, although one could almost wish that it were even further simplified. This is only one case, a recent and a striking case, it may not stand alone. The new ideas are growing ; there is not the least reason to despair.

H. H. THE NIZAM ON SYMPATHY

His Highness the Nizam in proposing the health of H. E. Lord Minto at the recent State banquet at Hyderabad is reported to have made the following remarkable statement :

" If your Excellency will allow me to speak from my experience of 23 years as ruler of this State, I would say that the form of any government is far less important than the spirit in which that government is administered. The essential thing is the sympathy on which H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, with the truly Royal instinct of his race, recently laid so much stress. It is not sufficient merely that the rulers should be actuated by sympathy for their subjects, but it is also necessary that the people should feel convinced of the sympathy of the rulers."

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Calcutta Review

The October number of the above quarterly journal opens with some editorial notes on the events which occurred during *The Quarter* just closed. These notes dwell upon (1) the Legislative Reforms, (2) the Enlarged Councils, (3) the India Council Bill, (4) the Decentralisation Commission, (5) the 'Sedition' cases, (6) the resignation of Lord Lamington, (7) the Industrial Conference at Naini Tal and (8) the Anglo-Russian agreement. In connection with the fifth item above referred to, the writer makes the astounding assertion 'that the Indian National Congress is being daily more discredited even by the men who were among its founders.' Count de Lesdain contributes the tenth chapter of his adventurous journey *Along The Yang-tze Kiang*. Mr. David Gostling's learned paper dealing with *The Precession, Climatic and Declination Cycles* will find favour with all students of general geography. A summary of the next paper on *Sympathy and Decentralisation* is crowded out of this number and will be published in our next. Mr. R. P. Karkaria expresses his *Thoughts on the Present Unrest in India*. The paper is a ponderous trash, to say the least of it, and the writer is apparently imbued with feelings intensely hostile to the present national movement in India. This official apologist advises the English to 'keep their powder dry and their rifles ready.' Mr. J. G. Apar has an elaborate account of the *Municipal Administration in Calcutta*. Under the ambitious heading of *The History of Journalism in India*, Mr. S. C. Sanial writes an article at portentous length which, we are threatened, will yet be continued. It is followed by the *Critical Notice* of a book of travel on Persia.

The Indian Review

The October number of Mr. Natesan's Review opens with two scrappy articles on *Prices and Prosperity*, of which the latter, contributed by Mr. G. V. Joshi, is a criticism of the former contributed by an I. C. S. Mr. R. G. Pradhan has some pertinent remarks on *Indian Affairs in England* and these are based off the experience gained by the writer during his recent visit to Great

REVIEW OF INDIAN REVIEWS

Britain. In his admirable paper on *Colour Prejudice*, 'Asiaticus' observes that 'the sympathy and harmony between the governing and governed races (in India) are in inverse ratio to the intellectual and moral approximation of the two classes.' The writer of the next article, Mr. A. P. Smith, seems to be of opinion that the native Christian is bound to be a great political factor in India. Mr. C. N. Krishna Swami Aiyar's historical sketch of *Sri Madhwa and Madhwaism* is to be continued. Mr. V. Narasimhan has a very useful account of *Animal Industries of Southern India*. Apiculture, Animal-dyes, Cochineal, Sepia, Lac-dye and Sericulture are among the industries spoken of by the writer. Mr. Jatindra Nath Banerjee pleads for *A Common National Script for India* and recommends the adoption of the *Devanagri* for this purpose. The number closes as usual with some useful industrial and commercial notes.

The Hindustan Review

With the leading article of the September number of the *Hindustan Review* we have but little to do. In the course of the next article on *School Life in India*, Mr. G. S. Arundale regrets the rush of modern civilisation affecting the life of students in India, complains of the inefficiency of the teaching staff of Indian educational institutions and regards that the principal function of a teacher should be to develop two particular qualities in his pupil *e.g.*, character and patriotism. Mr. E. Frederick Barr's exposition of the *New Theology* is followed by the first instalment of an admirable serial paper on *State Interference* contributed by Mr. N. N. Gupta. The writer holds that in India State interference assumes three broad and distinct phases, *e.g.*, (1) State-ownership, (2) State-administration and (3) State-control through legislation. Mr. D. V. Krishna Rao has some notes on *The Present Crisis in India* in connection with which he deplores the non-fulfilment of the late Queen's gracious Proclamation and the retrograde policy of the Government of India. The writer of the next article on *The Industrial Development of India* seems to be of opinion that all political strife and struggle between the rulers and the ruled should cease and that we should devote our attention, capital and labour to the industrial regeneration of India. A 'Privy Council Barrister' has a short paper on *Law and Lawyers*. Under the heading of *The Topic of the Month*, the Editor puts in a vigorous criticism of the 'reforms' adumbrated by Mr. John Morley.

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER

1907

Date

1. The Transvaal Indians petition King Edward for the disallowance of the Immigration Bill.
2. In the second *Jugantar* sedition case, the Manager is acquitted but the printer Basanta is sentenced to two years' hard labour by the Calcutta Police Court.
4. The 82nd birth-day anniversary of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.
5. The drummers of Serajgunge go on strike.
7. At a meeting of the Viceregal Council the Local Authorities Loan Bill is referred to a Select Committee.
8. The Borawar-Hissar Railway line is sanctioned by Mr. Morley.
9. Mr. Chang, the Chinese envoy, confers with Sir Louis Dane on the matter of the Indo-Chinese trade.
10. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal is sentenced to 6 months' simple imprisonment for refusing to give evidence in the *Bande Mataram* case.
11. A large number of less important accused persons in the Rawalpindi Riot case are discharged to-day.
12. The Bengali workmen of the Ichhapore Rifle Factory go on strike.
13. The judgment in the fourth batch of the Cocanada Riot case is delivered to-day.
16. A smart shock of earthquake is felt at Simla.
19. At an influential meeting presided over by the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, a Pasteur Institute scheme is successfully launched.
21. A fatal fight takes place between the Police and some Mahomedan rowdies at Sherpur, Mymensingh.
22. Mr. Chitnavis is assaulted by some violent extremists at the close of a meeting of the Congress Reception Committee at Nagpur.
23. Mr. Keir Hardie arrives in Calcutta. In the *Bande Mataram* sedition case, Mr. Arabinda Ghosh is acquitted by the Calcutta Police Court.
25. Sir George Arbuthnot is sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment.
26. In the *India* sedition case, the Chief Court of Lahore confirms the sentence of 5 years' hard labour on Pindi Das and reduces the same on Dinanath to two years only.
27. One Madrassi, a Bengali and a Parsi get through the I. C. S. examination.
28. The 75th anniversary of the death of Raja Ram Mohan Ray is celebrated in Calcutta.
30. Mr. Keir Hardie pledges his word at Barisal that he would try to make the Indians free citizens under the British flag.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

"Not a plebiscite but the rifle—not the ballot-box but an ammunition-pouch—is our justification for ruling India."

The above sentence appears in one of the series of impressions noted by Dr. Fitchett of Australia on "England and India" in the *Tribune* of London. This appears to us to be a very frank and candid view of the situation; for, inspite of all platitudes and cant, John Bull really believes in his heart of hearts that England's title to India is nothing else but the sword and the fighting qualities of her army.

Dr. Fitchett's candid opinion is supported by the bulk of the British Press and the vote of the House of Commons. Mr. Morley, however, still tries to maintain that it is only for the good of India and the progress of the world that England is still in India. Behind the philosophic radicalism and the democratic sentimentality of Mr. Morley, we find him in practice subscribing to the 'good old rule, the simple plan, that he should take who has the power and he may keep who can.'

Besides Dr. Fitchett's and Mr. Morley's opinions, there is a third body of opinion which seems to think that England's right to rule India lies in the consent or the sufferance of her people. A large number of Anglo-Indian statesmen and writers have, from the time of Malcolm and Elphinstone, given out as their opinion that England shall cease to hold her sway in India as soon as the people of India begin to doubt the *bona fides* of the existing Government. Even so great a political thinker and philosopher as the late Sir John Seeley—perhaps not a lesser authority on politics than our friend, Mr. Morley—thought that if a day should ever come when a spirit of nationality would begin to develop in India and if that spirit should ever find itself in conflict with British rule, England will have to clear out of India, her army and influence notwithstanding. "If India learns to think and act as a unit," writes the author of the *Deeds That Won the Empire*, "what chance is there of the British rule surviving?"

It is now necessary to discuss a little the merits and the justification of the three schools of politics we have mentioned above. No sensible man would deny that, whatever may be the nature of the conquests made by England in India, the earlier administration of this country by the British was undoubtedly based on principles of righteousness and justice. The permanent settlement of Bengal, the efforts to spread high and primary education throughout the country, the placing on our Statute Book of laws safeguarding the civic and personal rights and privileges of all Indians, the establishment of High Courts of Judicature with subsidiary courts for the administration of justice and, above everything, the granting to the people complete freedom of speech and writing are things which are some of the most glorious landmarks in the history not only of India but also of England. Any nation of the world might be proud of such a noble record of beneficent policy. We do not make mention here of such things as the general amnesty granted to the army after the suppression of the Sepoy revolt, nor of

THE INDIAN WORLD

such things as the rendition of Mysore or the preservation of the Houses of Baroda and Cashmere, which may be considered more as acts of justice than of righteousness.

Looking closely into the history of the Anglo-Indian Administration, one is bound to arrive at the conclusion that righteousness has dominated the policy of that Administration for only a certain definite period and that this has synchronised with the stretch of time during which the people of India have permitted England to rule them with their willing consent and sufferance. But as soon as Viceroy after Viceroy began to treat the people with scant courtesy and their aspirations with still lesser consideration, the faith of the people in British righteousness came to be shaken and the consent of the people, particularly of the more impatient of them, for the continuance of British rule began to be grudgingly given. This was bound to happen considering the sharp change that had come over the policy of British rule in India. As very pertinently put by Mr. G. H. Perris in the *Tribune* (London): "For a good many years past Liberal ideas have had no fair trial in India. In the vista of seventeen or eighteen years of Tory rule, Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty seems a dim and distant golden age. During this period, in which a powerful stream of native criticism has been rising, there has been no material enlargement of popular liberties, and no attempt at a sympathetic appeal to the popular imagination. With regard to local self-government, the freedom of the Press, the progress of education, and native places in the higher Civil Service there has been some reaction." With this reaction has come an awakening of the Indian people. They now feel they have not much to expect, either by way of right or of justice, from British rule in India. Consequently a body of opinion has appeared in this country quite in recent times which has grown quite impatient with British rule and perhaps is also anxious to overthrow it. We have no sympathy either with Anglo-Indian reaction or with Indian extremism, but we must say that the latter owes its origin to the former. The history of the Anglo-Indian Administration of the last twenty years is a history of reaction and repression dominated by racial antipathy and distrust of the people.

The present Government of India has been variously described as an 'efficient bureaucracy,' as a 'benevolent despotism' and an 'autocracy tempered by free speech.' Whatever of these definitions may truthfully apply to the existing Government, they do not make much difference nor is there much to choose between them. Autocracy tempered by free speech is how Mr. Morley defined British rule in India on his first Indian Budget speech in Parliament. Mr. Morley has not been more than two years in office before he has made a serious attempt to make that definition obsolete and anachronous. The definition given by Mr. Morley's master and guide, Mr. John Stuart Mill, of the Indian Government being a 'benevolent despotism' has ceased to hold good since the time of Lord Dufferin. An 'efficient bureaucracy' is only another name for an intelligent tyranny. So autocracy without being tempered by free speech, despotism without being guided by benevolent intentions, and bureaucracy governed by red-tape—all these resolve themselves into a form of government which does not depend for its support on the will or consent of the governed. The root-principle of the existing Indian Government, however may it be described, lies

more in ignoring the wishes of the people and imposing upon them a yoke which presses upon their unwilling shoulders more and more heavily as years roll on.

So far as the nature and the spirit of the present Anglo-Indian Government goes. Whether things have much chance of either mending or improving we shall presently see. A correspondent,—believed to be our old friend, Sir Walter Lawrence—writing to the *Times* a fortnight after the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, said : “The final solution of the problem of the government of an oriental country by a western people will be evolved by time alone and the exact form of it no man can predict. This we must remember that the only thing that an oriental respects is power, whether exhibited as a physical, moral, or divine force ; it is the only thing which commands his respect, admiration and worship. Weakness is contemptible and the British Government will fall when men find that it is no longer strong.” The *Daily Telegraph*, commenting on Mr. Morley’s last Budget speech in Parliament, said : “Let there be no mistake that if we allow the prestige of our civil administration and of the scattered representatives of our race, whether passing travellers or merchants or servants of the Crown, to be brought into contempt, we shall ultimately be compelled to reconquer India from sea to sea.” This is only one side of the question,—the side of physical force. As regards the moral side of the question we shall also make two extracts from English journals to let our readers know how they look at it. That greatest and most representative of English newspapers, *The Times*, in condemning the spread of high education in India says : “We have been following false ideals in our Indian education ; we must abandon them for ideals more wholesome in themselves and more in harmony with the traditions and the habits of the races we rule.” By which probably is meant that excepting some of the special classes, the whole of Indian mankind should go without any education or knowledge. And this comes from a countryman of Lord Macaulay, to whose enlightened efforts India owes its present national consciousness. Mr. H. V. Story, who has inherited all the vulgarity minus the ability of the late Mr. G. W. Stevens, writing to one of the English newspapers last month, says :

“There ought not to be any increase of native representation on the Provincial or Viceregal Councils and the Indian Council in London. You have gone far enough that way already. What these native fellows do when, by their cunning, they have got on these councils is to talk, talk, talk. . . . They can chatter, chatter, and no mistake, and that is all ; they know nothing of government and never will. They waste time, cause trouble, and show off. You ought to do as Curzon did with the Calcutta Corporation—see that the Europeans have a decent majority, pay them to attend the Council—as he did—if necessary. You will think that I am warm on the subject, Sir. So I am, I do confess, but if you knew what I know, what fools these fellows are at governing, you would be hotter still, and keep them in their right places—outside, at a distance.”

One more passage from this writer and we shall have done with him :

“I warn you in time, Sir, and ask you to act before it is too late. Not one rupee for technical education !—that must be the policy till this new-fangled *Swadeshi* movement, as they call it in India, is dead, as no doubt it will be if my policy is carried out. Any way, Sir, keep a tight hold of all the educational resources of India ; stop these new schools springing up all over Bengal, started with private money so they may be free from official aid and oversight.”

Sickening bluster and shall we say hopeless ? If the above extracts show anything more than another, it is this that high

THE INDIAN WORLD

education has been a great mistake in India and that unless the government goes back upon its principle of 'native representation' and makes stern repression the key-note of its future policy, India will slip out of England's hands.

Today, therefore, John Bull finds that it is neither the righteousness of his rule nor the consent of the people of India that constitutes the main title of British rule in India. It is well that all hypercritical pretensions to govern India have been cast to the wind and that all masks have been thrown aside in order that we may know each other more intimately.

The only title, therefore, of England to rule India or, to put it more accurately, to continue her rule in India is what may be called the original charter of British rule—the title of the glittering sword. It would not do for Mr. Morley to brush aside that important fact in view of the whole-hearted and enthusiastic support given to him in his policy of coercion by English Liberals and Conservatives alike. Mr. Morley must now feel in his heart of hearts that after all it is with the iron hand and the glittering sword that he is maintaining English sway in India. The willing consent of the people he neither seeks nor thinks worth seeking.

In the present article we shall not enter into either the ethics of the sword or the possibility of maintaining such an alien rule by the aid of the sword. Nor is it a subject on which we think any controversy needs at all to be invited. History is replete with instances in which we find the sword absolutely helpless in maintaining an undesirable rule; and we trust Mr. Morley has not forgotten his Gibbon or the lessons of the Empires of the Dark and the Middle Ages. It would be most surprising to find England keeping a united and unwilling people in subjection for any length of time, and it were better both for India and England if British statesmen and rulers had avoided that experiment again.

In the meantime, may we not hope that the glittering sword and the 'red title-deed' will be laid aside and England make a serious attempt to conciliate the Indian people, utilise the patriotic forces of our citizens, make common cause with India, and nationalise the system of government and administration in this country—"broad-based on the people's will?"

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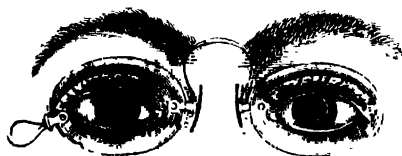
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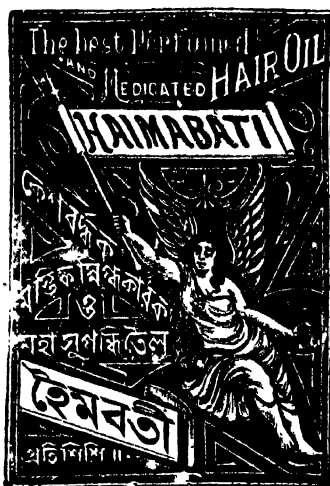
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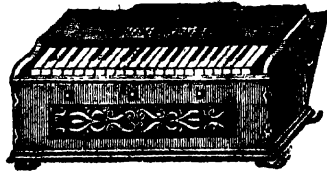
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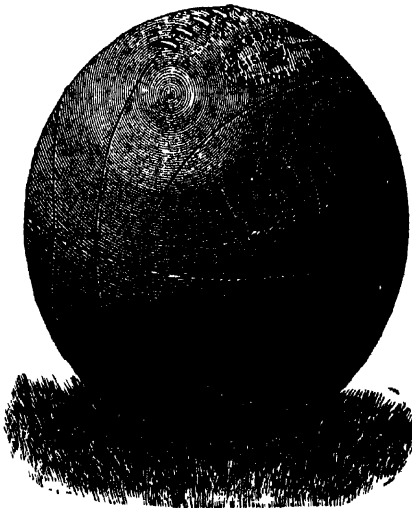
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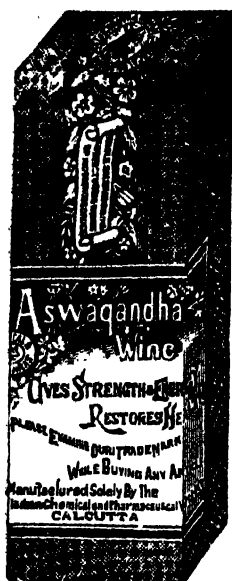
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* Though, owing to the barbarous tactics of the extremists Dr. Ghose could not deliver the whole of his magnificent speech at Surat, we make no apology to publish it *in extenso*. It has never been our good fortune to have such a bold, thoughtful, eloquent and at the same time sedate and statesman-like message, from the chair of the Congress, which is bound to be preserved for future reference by every student of our national history.—*Ed., I. W.*



THE HON'BLE

Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, C.I.E.,

The President of the XXIIIrd Indian National Congress

THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. VI]

DECEMBER, 1907

[No. 33

THE RETREAT

There can be no gainsaying the fact that the Government of India has beaten a hasty retreat. Its mad policy of repression was evidently drifting it on to such a hopeless confusion and muddle that it perhaps thought better and checked its wild course.

How the Government was led on to a policy of repression is an interesting psychological study. There was a lot of knavery abroad,—all sorts of ignoble and petty tricks were played by officials and non-officials—to egg on the Government to adopt a policy of coercion, but, taking the Government of India as a whole, I am disposed to give it credit for an honest mistake, though no less culpable on that account, about the real state of affairs.

Now, for some time before the Government launched on a campaign of positive repression, the state of Bengal and, to a certain extent, of all India was one which could not be clearly understood by any one not thoroughly intimate with our public life. On the one hand there was a profound discontent spreading over all classes of the thinking population. The educated mind of India was deeply stirred and a distinct attitude of distrust of the Government and alienation from it was the prevailing tone of the mind of our people. Some of this feeling found expression in the very warm writings of the press and in the impulsive oratory of public speakers. But then so far as this section of opinion was concerned, it was strong and self-conscious, but averse to violence and thoroughly conscious of the fact that British rule, for good or for evil, was one that was not to be blown away at a moment's notice.

Some of the more impetuous souls went a great way further and, whether they believed it or not, openly avowed in their speeches and writings that British rule was merely based upon a huge sham and could be blown away if only the people of India would make a determined attempt. That goal was therefore openly put forward by some men, and the lesson was most forcibly impressed upon

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all who came under the influence of these people that everything calculated to drive away our morbid fear of the British Raj should be most strenuously cultivated and that a definite and conscious step ought to be taken now for the avowed object of upsetting British rule in India.

Let me not be misunderstood to imply that the two classes of opinion above referred to roughly indicate the opinions of the moderates and extremists respectively. As I have often said, so far as principles go, I fail to find the precise point where moderatism (so called) differs from extremism. There are various shades of opinion in both these classes and these merge into one another so completely that it is difficult to say where the one ends and the other begins. But I think it safe to assert that many of those styled and classed as extremists really do not own to any morbid preference for violence, except in self-defence and, though independence is the goal of all their actions, they do not project any great schemes to rush the people on to an early revolution. All that these men seek is to rouse up the great mind of India to a consciousness of its real strength and by making it strive to do the utmost possible by its unaided efforts to pave the way for the ultimate attainment of complete liberty. Now though none is more averse to the party tactics and dishonest practices of a great part of these self-styled Nationalists than myself, I think it fair to say that this is a perfectly reasonable programme and one which can be consistently carried on without necessarily involving or inciting active opposition to authority. Nay more, I believe the object to be a perfectly legitimate end of public life and one which, if quietly pursued, no Government is morally entitled to oppose.

But the frothy section of publicists, who, with their scanty ideas and in the overflow of their feelings, readily believed the British Government to be on the point of dissolution and only wanting the gentle stroke of the lathi to break down, were men of a different sort. In connection with the *Swadeshi* and boycott movement, which was an object of equal solicitude to all classes of publicists, these people went about writing and speaking such a lot of violent things that one might be excused for believing after hearing one of these heated orations that something more than mere froth was underneath it. These people made the upsetting of British rule an avowed object of their public life, solemnly asserting that this could be attained with the greatest ease, and they instigated the pushing on of boycott by violence only to court a struggle with the authorities that their strength might be developed.

All these violent statements sought to utilise the movements in the country for the expulsion of the English from India. Now, independently of these frothy sentimentalists, and without anything like such object in view, there were some definite patriotic movements which received the approval of the accredited leaders of public opinion and the sympathy of the entire people. First and foremost was the boycott and *Swadeshi* movement,—a movement which in itself, and as really practised, involved a profound disaffection against the British Government but was not in the slightest degree connected with violence or with any revolutionary propaganda. Secondly, as a further step towards self-help, was the movement for what is called national education which no doubt owed its being to the high-handedness of educational authorities and denoted a distrust of Government but which was not associated with any revolutionary end in view. Thirdly, after the experiences in Barisal and more remarkably those of Comilla and Jamalpore, there had grown up a preference amongst our young men for the cultivation of the art of self-defence by boxing, lathi-play and such other exercises. With this object, gymnasiums had been started in almost every considerable town of Eastern Bengal.

The frothy orators and writers expatiated upon precisely these three means for the ultimate attainment of the freedom of India. With the best of intentions the Government could not but have grown rather suspicious of the professions of our leaders who disavowed all connection with violence or a revolutionary object in their advocacy of *Swadeshi* and boycott, when the same was openly put forward as the means to a revolutionary end by men who professed to speak out only what the leaders feared to avow. When the means advocated coalesce, there arises a natural confusion as to ends. The Government therefore committed the grave error of taking the popular leaders to be in active sympathy with the body of insignificant publicists who openly preached clear sedition.

This happened in Bengal. In the Punjab too something analogous seems to have happened, for while Lala Lajpat Rai and his *confreres* spoke of the intense disaffection of the people and instigated them to redress their grievances by passive resistance, there were others, insignificant do-nothings, who were preaching an open revolutionary campaign and sought to corrupt the native army or at any rate bragged, as others have bragged in Bengal, that the native army was won over to the side of revolution.

Now the confusion of the mere froth with the more solid and

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substantial dissatisfaction of the people led the government on to its insane policy of repression. If there was merely the froth, repression might pay ; but if, misled by the appearance, you strike at the vitals of national life by prosecuting and persecuting people identified with movements nearest the hearts of the people, you only aggravate the danger and give the worthless demagogues more notoriety than they deserve. That has exactly been the case with us. Local officials as well as some Anglo-Indian journals were guilty of a great deal of perversion of honest truth in respect of the unrest which are just now matters of history. How a sedulous endeavour was made to associate the entire boycott movement in Bengal with a violent revolutionary project, how the police stirred up disturbance and then hauled up honest Swadesi workers for breach of the peace, how deliberate assaults on quiet and steady Swadesi workers were made and how the very facts were turned to use to prosecute the persecuted people, and how all this was connected directly with a great 'seditious movement in Calcutta' in which were involved all the considerable public men, are by this time perfectly well known. How in the Punjab leaders were sought to be mixed up in an alleged political riot, must, with the details of the infamous Rawalpindi case, long remain in the memory of all Indians. That Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were suddenly deported on grounds which no responsible minister ever ventured to avow only shows that these ministers were scared away by fearful tales of a coming revolution which, they feared, would land the country in ruin and disaster.

The Government may have deliberately sought to mix up the irresponsible speakers and writers with the leaders of the national movement in order to make the latter an excuse for striking at the former, or they may have been under an honest mistake. But whatever the cause may have been, the result was the same and, as a matter of fact, at Barisal and elsewhere those least associated with any revolutionary ideas were struck the most. The Prohibition of Meetings Ordinance was utilised in most cases to stop meetings, such as the Conference at Faridpore, where revolutionary tenets were likely to be least preached, and the whole campaign of repression seemed designed to strike some of the heaviest blows on those who were least associated with revolutionary ideas. The people naturally felt that the Government sought to suppress, not violence, but nationalism, with an iron hand and they showed a bold and steady opposition. The only result of repression therefore was to irritate men more and more and to lead them on to stronger and stronger views of politics.

The Government has now evidently perceived its mistake and it shows signs of retreating from the position it took some time ago. The truth that they were making a mistake possibly came home with the fact that there was no change in the tone of public life in Bengal. As for the Punjab, the release of all the gentlemen sought to be associated with a violent political riot and the fact that the province remained so quiet after the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, evidently made the position quite untenable. Or possibly Mr. Morley, long fed on promises of being supplied with convincing proofs of a deep-laid plot to upset British Empire, at last refused to be consoled any longer, and in view of the results of the prosecutions began to feel that the whole thing was a huge sham. Or it might be that influences more potent and more august may have operated upon the Government of India to take its pace backwards. But the fact stands there that the repressive policy is doomed and the Government is going to try its hand at conciliation.

I am aware that in making this statement I am making a very bold guess, and events may turn up which may altogether upset the theory. But at the present time, judged by some recent events, the attitude of the Government may very properly be taken to imply a desire to stop the rage for repression, though at the same time they display an anxious desire to cover up this change of front by a show of continuity which it seeks to keep up by means which sometimes border on the ridiculous.

The foremost of these events is the speech of Mr. Morley delivered at Arbroath. Mr. Morley has received plenty of congratulations from all and sundry in England on account of the consummate statesmanship, great width of views, profound political wisdom and what not, displayed in the Arbroath speech. To an Indian acquainted with the real facts it is likely to appear to be a hopeless muddle of half-truths and inexactitudes, lofty platitudes coupled with inconsistent and incoherent statements, all characterised by a sense of uncertainty and mist. Read between the lines it will be regarded as a guarded surrender of the position Mr. Morley took up some time ago. To all who heard Mr. Morley in the House of Commons dilating on matters relating to the Indian unrest, it must have appeared that he was all the time labouring under a very great apprehension of something like a revolution in India which could be suppressed only by strong repressive measures. Those stalwart Liberals who loyally stood by Mr. Morley in his game of reaction certainly thought that the stake

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at that game was the empire of India. Now, however, Mr. Morley comes forward with a statement that the situation was not really very serious in India. For, in good sooth, not only had there not been any serious conflagration in this distant empire of England, but absolutely no disturbance worth the name had occurred to give the slightest countenance to the consternation professed by 'men on the spot.' Nay more, awkward facts like the decisions in the Rawalpindi riot cases and the Mymensing cases, of which much capital was made before this, were proving conclusively the utter falsity of the contention that all the serious disturbances of the past few months were either engineered by political leaders or provoked by them. That theory has been smashed, and there was nothing for it but for Mr. Morley to retract from his old position. This he has done, though, to cover up the retreat, he has talked in the same strain of the bogey of Indian questions which never fails to put in appearance when any body wants to scare away honest Englishmen from a condemnation of questionable practices—its great mystery. Mr. Morley talked of "setting the prairie on fire," as if Lala Lajpat Rai or Mr. Keir Hardie or anybody else in the world was about anything like it. He defended his repressive policy, and held up to his audience the gruesome picture of the state India would be in if only the Englishmen were to withdraw from India—as if the withdrawal and consequent anarchy were the only alternative to the policy of repression. Mr. Morley would evidently have it understood that to steer clear of the Charybdis of evacuation and anarchy he was content to wreck his craft on the Scylla of repression. Of course, we in India know quite well that the Scylla and the Charybdis are not in this case so near one another but they leave ample room for an expert helmsman to steer his boat. But all the same, this excuse served him right and all England is loud in belauding him for his masterly grasp of the situation.

This commentary on Mr. Morley's Arbroath speech is supported by the rapid evaporation of repression in India. The Government of India was by all accounts in the run for repression; for, to take the place of the Public Meetings Ordinance which was to come to an end early last November, the Government of India had put forward the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Bill. The proposal was to carry it through in a great hurry, for the country was in such a hopeless state that unless the Ordinance was immediately succeeded by a continuation of its policy in a statute, the greatest

disturbances were expected. So the Bill must needs be passed in one sitting. It was with difficulty that the Hon'ble Dr. Ghose could get permission to get the principles of the Bill discussed after it was referred to a Select Committee; still all formalities had to be cut short to enable the Government to pass the Bill on the 1st November. The Bill was passed and Sir Harvey Adamson indulged in a series of speeches in support of the measure discussing the whole philosophy of the position of the Government and of the Moderates and the Extremists. Well, but when it came to illustrating the necessity of the measure by a reference to meetings of the agitators he did not know what to do. He drew up a catalogue of all the disturbances that had occurred in India recently and saddled the agitators and their public meetings with the entire responsibility for every one of them, not even excepting the Rawalpindi Riots or the Comilla and the Jamalpur incidents of which there have already been disclosures which would give the lie direct to Sir Harvey. He mentioned the Calcutta riots which were then the subject of an investigation by a special officer. But he omitted to mention the Partition Anniversary Meeting. Any one with the slightest acquaintance with the actual facts would have seen that Sir Harvey was relying on a broken reed; for, whatever other questions might be in dispute, the undisputed facts are that firstly, at Comilla the disturbances that occurred did not follow any meeting of the *agitators*; secondly, that the disturbances at Jamalpure and in the interior of Mymensingh had absolutely nothing to do with any *meetings*; that in the Beadon Square affair, there could have been no disturbance except for the presence of the vast police force and that it was the police who did the greatest mischief and so on with every one of the meetings cited by Sir H. Adamson. People naturally grew suspicious that Sir Harvey Adamson was not serious, and that at this stage of the Bill at least he was indulging in—mere bluff.

Then followed Mr. Baker with some words of wisdom about the philosophy of the situation, how the Moderates must have been in sympathy with those irresponsible demagogues who sought to subvert British Rule and so on. One began to wonder if this was all the argument on which such a formidable piece of legislation was founded and asked if it was not all bluff. The whole thing beautifully came out last when Lord Minto with great *naïveté* finished up some rhodomontade on the theme of sedition in India with the declaration that the Act was not needed anywhere but in

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the district of Barisal. The joke of the whole thing was too palpable. If Barisal was in any danger, Police arrangements for the district might be improved, the District Magistrate might make use of his great executive powers under the Criminal Procedure Code, and a thousand and one things might be done to save Barisal without forging such a formidable weapon of repression. So then it was a piece of bluff to cover up the retreat from the position taken up by the Government when it passed the Ordinance.

But the most beautiful of all the episodes of this historic retreat is the release of Lala Lajpat Rai. This incident displays in the most pronounced colours on the one hand the retreat of the Government from its position and on the other its anxiety to cover this retreat by all sorts of makeshifts.

The fact is that Lala Lajpat Rai has been released. But lest anybody should interpret this as a surrender of its position by the Government or, at any rate, as an admission that any really serious apprehension of a revolt does not at present exist in the Punjab, the release has been effected under the cover of a fiction. It has been stated that Lala Lajpat Rai has been released on the occasion of the King-Emperor's Birthday. This of course implies that Lala Lajpat Rai had no right to a release, but has been released only as a matter of royal grace. Now let us see how far this position is tenable. There is no doubt that the King has the prerogative to set free any prisoners he chooses, but a constitutional monarch cannot by the exercise of his prerogative set free a man whose very presence in the country is sure to raise a conflagration. Supposing therefore that Lala Lajpat Rai was released by the King's grace, His Majesty must before granting his release been assured by his ministers that the presence of Lala Lajpat Rai in Lahore was not now fraught with such imminent danger as would necessitate his detention in custody.

Now, if this state of affairs is once admitted, the conclusion is irresistible that Lala Lajpat Rai was under law entitled to an instant release, that the fiction of King's grace was not at all necessary, and that the authorities by their own admission had no right to detain him in custody one moment longer than they did. For under the Regulation III of 1818, the Governor-General may order any person to be detained in custody if, from "reasons of State embracing the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility or from internal commotion," he thinks it "necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute judicial proceedings," &c. Now the law nowhere

provides for the period during which such person is to be so detained. According to the well-known maxim of law, *cessante ratione legis cessat ipsa lex*, such period can therefore only be co-extensive with the cause which gave the Governor-General the special power to imprison without a trial. So soon therefore as the "reasons of State" which justify such detention cease to exist the power of the Governor-General is at an end. Lala Lajpat Rai could not therefore be detained under any law for one moment longer than it was absolutely necessary for the security of the British dominions from internal commotion. The Government has by releasing Lala Lajpat Rai practically admitted that the state of affairs in the Punjab is now no longer such that his presence in the Punjab would seriously impair the security of British dominions by 'internal commotion or foreign aggression.' Thus the only cause which could justify the detention of Lala Lajpat Rai had admittedly ceased to exist before he was released. Lala Lajpat Rai had therefore a full right to be released and there was no law which could give the Governor-General authority to detain him one moment longer.

There was therefore no opportunity for the King's grace to come in. The King's grace can operate to secure release of prisoners who have been imprisoned for personal misdemeanour for a fixed term of years; it then effects some diminution in the term of imprisonment and has some meaning and value. To bring in the King's grace to secure the release of a person whom you have no authority to detain any longer is, however, altogether meaningless. It may very well be that the release of Lala Lajpat Rai may have been due to the personal interference of His Majesty the King-Emperor. That does not mean that Lala Lajpat Rai should have owed his release to royal grace. For the King is the fountain of justice no less than of grace and in releasing Lajpat Rai he may have done him a justice which His Majesty's ministers had denied him. From all points of view, therefore, Lajpat Rai's release cannot but be looked upon as bare justice, even granting that the Lala had seriously menaced the security of the British Raj at the time of his arrest. His release *ipso facto* proves that he was entitled to release for he could not possibly be detained longer than he must needs be in the interest of peace or 'the security of the British dominions.'

The fact is that Lala Lajpat Rai has been released. The inevitable inference is that he was entitled to release for the reason that the state of the Punjab was no longer such as to necessitate his detention. Why cannot the Government come forward and frankly

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admit that this is so? It cannot possibly say this with due regard to its prestige. But what on earth is there to prevent it from coming forward to say that circumstances have changed since and *now* Lajpat Rai can be safely released? Why must they show a sneaking desire to avoid a declaration of this patent fact and must bring in the royal grace to secure a release which justice demanded? To lead the royal grace into such channels is to lower the holy prerogative of the Crown in the estimation of the people, and in this case it has had the further effect of casting on the prisoner himself—a political *detenu* that he has so long been regarded to be—the slur of being a misdemeanant whose crime has need of the royal pardon.

It is as clear as anything that the Government in releasing Lala Lajpat Rai was surrendering its old position and trying its hand at conciliation. But the death knell of repression has been sought to be drowned in this case as in every other, in a music of quite another sort. In no case however has the attempt been more clumsy than in this. In no case have the two facts of actual retreat from and the pretence of a continuity of the policy of repression been brought forward in as clear colours. We may be thankful for even this, the small change in the tone of the administration. But it is impossible not to mark with censure this pettifogging attempt to cover this change with a pretext which can deceive no sensible person. It only shows that, whether it is driving to good or to evil, the Government never worships any god more than the blessed word *prestige*. And naturally enough, it gets precious little credit for what carefully concealed good it does to the people from under cover of its full coat of arms of prestige.

Civis Romanus Sum

SOME INTERESTING PEOPLES OF CHOTA NAGPUR

III

MUNDA COSMOGONY AND LEGENDARY HISTORY

An ardent desire to unlock the mystery of creation and unravel his own past history is inborn in man. The problem of the origin of Man and the world around him appears to have haunted the human mind in every clime and in all ages. Like the riddle of the Sphinx, the question 'Whence' has insistently presented itself to the mind of man from the earliest times to the present day. It has perplexed the primitive barbarian no less than the civilised man—the crowning work and ripest-born of 'Time'. The rude savage, wont to

'Whistle back the parrot's call and leap the rainbows of the brooks,'

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has exercised his mind over the problem of the origin of things with as much eagerness and curiosity as those most glorious products of the highest civilization—the scientist and the metaphysician

“On Man, on Nature, and on Human Life
Musing in solitude.”

And each has attempted to read the riddle in his own way. But the world has not yet seen an *Ælipus* to propose a final solution of this most difficult of all riddles.

The various endeavours of the human mind to travel back to the ‘sources of Time,’ and solve the eternal mystery of creation, have originated the many crude cosmogonic myths of the savage tribes of India, Australia, Africa, America, and other countries, on the one hand, and, on the other, the sublime metaphysical conceptions of the Greek and the Hindu philosophers of old and the more matter-of-fact scientific theory of Evolution of modern times. From the Vedic conception of the *Purusha** or the Primeval Man-Principle, out of whose body worlds and animals and men were evolved, down to the Kolarian legend of the first pair evolved by Sing Bonga out of the egg of a bird, from the Greek conception of the Earth “couched in love with heaven” and begetting the gods,† and the Olympian gods in their turn, ordering the quintuple succession ‡ of earthly races, down to the conception of the Pundjel or Bird-Creator of Australian Savage Mythology,—all cosmogonic legends are the outcome of man’s ambitious attempts at a solution of the insoluble mystery of creation.

Whatever be the historical value of the cosmogonic myths of primitive man,—whether they are mere moral allegories, as Aristotle taught us, or embody systems of physical philosophy as Theagenes and his school believed, or whether they are but imaginative renderings of actual history, as another school of ancient thinkers concluded, or whether, indeed, an ancient *mythus* is almost wholly, as Max Muller told us, “a disease of language,” traceable to the loss of the original signification of the primitive names of elemental phenomena,—certain it is that the creative fancy of man has had a hand, more or less exclusive, in weaving these legends into shape. And the warp of fact in them,

* The *Purusha* or Primeval Man-principle of the famous *Purusha-Sukta*, the 90th hymn of the Eighth Chapter (*ashtakam*) of the Rig-Veda, is figuratively represented as having a thousand heads and thousand eyes and a thousand feet.

† Vide Hesiod, Theogon. 45.

‡ The poet of the Hesiodic “Works and Days” describes how the gods made first the golden race and next the silver race, thirdly Zeus made the Brazen race and next the race of Heroes and, last of all, the Iron race.

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if any, is so closely intertwined with the woof of fiction, that it is well-nigh impossible to disentangle the one from the other.

Not so, however, with the various traditions regarding the prehistoric migrations of primitive tribes. These in the main are based on actual events of the past. Amid the monotonous round of savage life, nothing is calculated to impress the primitive mind more forcibly than change and movement. And impressions of this nature are the longest to endure. Primitive tribes are likely to retain the memory of their successive changes of abode long after the recollection of other events of their prehistoric existence has faded away from the tribal memory. Not that the aid of fiction to embellish their scanty traditions is altogether neglected by savage tribes. But the main facts stand out in such bold relief from their setting of fiction as to be obvious to the merest tyro.

The real difficulty however lies in another direction. It is in separating the narratives of actual events of the past, handed down by ancient tradition from surmises and theories foisted in by more enlightened later generations as real facts and since passing current as integral portions of the original traditions, that the historical inquirer experiences the greatest difficulty. In this debateable borderland between fact and theory, the historical inquirer has to seek the guidance of the beacon light of philology, archæology, geology and other handmaids of history.

The Mundas, though not rich in traditions regarding their prehistoric migrations, still recount a few legends which may serve as landmarks in the wide ocean of their past history. The student of Munda antiquities may perchance find in such legends golden keys to unlock the invaluable secrets of the past.

Without, however, attempting in the present chapter to separate fact from fiction in the following legends or to discuss their historical import, we merely reproduce them as we heard them narrated by some simple Mundas. Adapting the words of the poet of the "Song of Hiawatha," we may tell our readers,—

"Should you ask me, whence these stories?
Whence these legends and traditions?

I should answer, I should tell you,
I repeat them as I heard them.
From the lips of many a Munda
Ye who love a nation's legends,
Like the ballads of a people—
That like voices from afar off
Call to us to pause and listen,
Speak in tones so plain and child-like
Scarcely can the ear distinguish
Whether they are sung or spoken,
Listen to these Indian Legends."

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The most valuable of Mundari mythical legends opens with the creation of the Earth, and is recounted as follows :

In the beginning of Time, the face of the Earth was covered over with water. Sing Bonga, the Sun-God, brooded over the waters and the first beings that were born were a *Kachua* or tortoise, a *Kurakom* or crab, and a *lendud* or leech. Sing-Bonga commanded these first-born of all animals to bring Him a lump of clay (*hasa*) from out of the depths of the primeval Ocean. The tortoise and the crab by turns tried their skill, but in vain. The persistent leech, however, met with better success. It succeeded in fishing out a bit of clay from underneath the deep. And with this clay, Sing-Bonga made this *Ote-Disum*, this beautiful earth of ours. And, at His bidding, the Earth brought forth trees and plants, herbs and creepers, of manifold varieties. Sing-Bonga next filled the earth with birds and beasts of all sorts and sizes. And now happened the most memorable incident of all. The bird *Hur** or swan laid an egg. And out of this egg came forth a boy and a girl—the first human beings. These were the progenitors of the *Iloro Honko*—the sons of men, as the Mundas still style themselves.

This first human pair, however, were innocent of the relation of the sexes. So Sing Bonga pointed out to them certain vegetable roots and taught them the secret of making *ili* or rice-beer therewith. And the first pair, now remembered as *Tota Harom* and *Tota Buri* (the *naked* male ancestor and the *naked* female ancestor) brewed *ili* as directed, and drank their fill. And the *ili* tasted very sweet and it inflamed their passions. And in due course they were blessed with offspring. Three sons were born to them, one after the other. And these were named respectively Munda, Nanka, and Rora.† All this happened at a place named Ajam-garh.‡ On their parents' death, the sons wandered about over the face of the earth—over hills and over dales, through forests untrodden by the feet of man and over 'fields unworn by the plough.'

* This bird is said to lay its egg secretly in a *jir* or *Jovi* (marshy ground). And the common belief among the Mundas is that a *hur* will not lay more than one egg in its life-time. The most solemn oath of the Mundas of old was, it is said, by *Hur Jarom*, the egg of the *hur* or swan.

† According to another account, the three sons were named, Munda, Nanka, Tenha. From the youngest Tenha, it is said, the Matisor Soothsayers of the Mundas are descended.

‡ Curiously enough, I heard a non-Christian illiterate Munda living among christian neighbours, explaining this name as "*Adam-garh* or *Adambakri*", the Garden of Adam, and the account places the original cradle of the race to *Seya Sandi Bir*, literally the most empty or desolate forest.

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From Ajam-Garh, the descendants of Tota Haram went successively to Kalangjar-Garh, Garh-Chitr, Garh-Nagarwar, Garh Daharwar, Garh Pipar, Garh Pali, Bignagarh, Laknaur, Hardinagar, Rijgarh, and Ruidasgarh.* While they were living at Ruidasgarh the Mundas incurred the ill-will of a Kharwar chief of the name of Madho Singh. Afraid of meeting the Mundas in fair field, Madho Singh surprised the unsuspecting Mundas with a huge force at dead of night. The Mundas had no course open to them but to retreat southwards. And southwards they went till they crossed Burmughat on to Omedanda in Jharkhand, the modern division of Chotanagpur. Finally, on the arrival of the Uraons, the Mundas always averse to living among strangers, made for the Central Plateau of Chotanagpur. It was the famous patriarch Risa Munda who led his tribesmen in this eastward march. And Risa's followers numbered full twenty-one thousand. On they moved till at length the present site of village Muruma, not far from the modern town of Ranchi, took their fancy and here they came to a halt.

From their encampment at Muruma, the Mundas scrutinised the forests all around them. Not a trace of human habitation or pasturage for cattle could they discern. And the exclusive Mundas were not displeased. Their *Punch*—the Council of the Elders of the tribe—put their hoary heads together. And they decided on resorting to the ordeal of fire. For the length of seven painful days and nights, a hen was made to walk over a huge fire. And at the close of this dreadful week, the hen came out quite unscathed. This augured well for the future safety and peace of the tribe in their proposed new home. As the hen emerged unharmed from the ordeal, no harm could possibly befall the Mundas if they dwelt in this region. Thus argued these hoary-headed patriarchs. And so they settled in the country all around. On their way to Muruma, it is said, one of the Munda patriarchs, Korumba by name, went to the site of the present village Korambe which he founded and named after himself. And from Muruma another patriarch, Sutia by name, established the village since called Sutiambe after its founder. And the majority of the present generation of Mundas, who have now forgotten the earlier vicissitudes of fortune of their valiant forefathers, still name 'Sutiambe Korambe' as the original cradle of the Kompat or Konkpat Mundas, as they sometimes call

* As we shall attempt to show in a subsequent chapter, their route lay though North-Western India, modern Rajputana, Bundelkhand—the ancient Pulinda-Desa, and Magadha or Bihar to Chota Nagpur. Some accounts name *Mundar Puthar* as one of the localities found inhabited by the Mundas.

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themselves. A third patriarch, Chutu or Chutia *Haram*, the head of the Chutu Purthi Kili, established the village Chutia, now a suburb of Ranchi. And to this once Munda village the present Division of Chota-Nagpur* owes its name.

A second version of the above legend is given by some old Mundas of Pargana Sonepur as follows :

Mankind (*Horo honko*, the sons of man) threw off their allegiance to Sing Bonga. Sing Bonga thereupon sent a warning to men on Earth through His servant-bird *Kaua Bhandari* (crow, the steward) and *Lipi Susari* (Lipi the cock). But men refused to obey Sing Bonga. Enraged at the impious contumacy of man, Sing Bonga showered down on the Earth below a terrible rain of fire to destroy mankind. And the race of man (*Horoko*) would have been altogether extinct but for the saving pity of the sister of Sing Bonga (*Sing Bonga Misi*). The compassionate goddess carried off a man and a woman, related as brother and sister to one another, and kept them hidden underneath a *jovi* or marsh full twelve *koses* in length and of equal breadth. And to reach this hiding-place, one would have to pass successively through ten massive door-ways. The wary Sing Bonga had his suspicions. And he despatched *Kaua-Bhandari* and *Lipi Susari* to look out for any human being that might have escaped the general conflagration. Long and patiently did the sagacious birds search for some trail of the existence of man. They had well-nigh despaired of success when at length the crow (*kaua*) alighted on a leaf-cup (*Eana*) such as men use. It lay on the *jovi* and betokened the presence of man. But no human being could be anywhere seen. Straightway the crow picked up the leaf-cup with his beak and carried it to Sing-Bonga.

Thereupon Sing Bonga Himself went down to the *jovi*. Here he was met by Naga Era, the presiding spirit of the *jovi*. And of her, Sing-Bonga demanded to know if she had any human beings

* The name Chota-Nagpur appears to have been applied much later by the Hindu immigrants to the country who knew not Chutia *haram* nor his progeny. It is in documents of the early part of the last century that we meet with the name "Nagpur *Khurda*" or the Little or Small Nagpur. We do not find the name either in the *Akbar Nama* or in the *Aini Akbari*.

The Mahomedan historians call the country Kokrah, probably because the Nagbansi Rajas were in the time of Akbar living in village *Khukra* in Pergana Khakra. In *Chaitanyacharitamrita* and other Hindu works of the period, the modern Chota Nagpur is called Jharkhand. The suggestion sometimes made that Chutia Nagpur is but a corruption of Chota Nagpur does not appear to be correct. The original name would rather seem to have been Chutia Nagpur—either from Chutia Haram, the founder of village Chutia, or from Sutiya, the founder of Sutiamba, as the third legend in this chapter would have us believe. The derivation from Chutia, once the capital of the Nagbansi Rajas, seems to be more probable.

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in her custody. Naga Era promptly replied : " All men hast thou struck down with fire and brimstone. Where shall I get one, now?" But Sing-Bonga was not convinced. At length, however, He won the Naga-Era's confidence by promising not to destroy mankind again. And He further added : " Henceforth you shall have two parts of the sons of men and I shall take only a third part to myself." At this, the Naga-Era brought out the surviving human pair from inside the *jovi*. And Sing Bonga placed them once more on the green earth. And this man and this woman were called Lutkum *Haram* and Lutkum *Budia* respectively. They lived together as man and wife at *Ajamgarh*. And the world was peopled by their progeny. Since then as a mark of Naga-Era's power over them, most men have some wart or other mark on their skin. From *Ajamgarh* their progeny went to various places, to *Kalangjar*, to *Garh Pipra*, to *Garh Nagarwar*, to *Garh Daharwar*, to *Garh Pali*, to *Bignagarh*, to *Laknaur*, to *Hardinagar*, to *Rajgarh*, and to *Ruidas*. [The rest of the story is almost the same as the preceding legend and need not be repeated here].

More ambitious though perhaps less authentic is the following legend which was communicated to us by a Munda convert to Christianity. We give below a translation as literal as possible of the narrative recounted to us. The influence of a knowledge of Bible History and of the early European accounts of the Kolarian tribes is patent on the face of the legend. But the genuine portions of the legend can be easily told off from the excrescences put upon it. Thus runs this modernised version of ancient Munda History :

Lutkum *Haram* was the first ancestor of the *Horoko*. Lutkum's son was *Hembo*. *Hembo* begot *Kus*, *Kus* begot *Morih*. From *Morih* descended the *Korku*, the *Marki*, the *Santal*, the *Ho* or *Larka*, the *Bhumij*, the *Konko*, the *Korwa*, the *Binji* and many other tribes who composed the Munda race.

Morih migrated from his native land in Central Asia* with his whole family and his cattle and his fowls. *Morih* passed through *Tibbat-nagur* and crossing the north-eastern *ghats* (hill-passes) entered *Jhar-Khand Hindusthan* (the forest-covered India), and spread over the whole of northern India—over *Behar*, *Bundelkhand*, *Jabalpur*, *Hosengabad*, up to the very banks of the *Nerbudda*. They worshipped *Sirma-sing* (the Sun god of Heaven) and establish-

* The mention of Central Asia as the ancient home of the Mundas, and the North-Eastern passes of the Himalayas as the route by which they entered India, is evidently an echo of the opinions of Hodgson, Colonel Dalton, Sir William Hunter, and others of the old school. Later researches however throw great doubts on this theory.

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ed powerful kingdoms in which they erected big *maths* (temples) and *garhs* (forts) and small *thilas* (mounds).

On the death of Morih, they elected Seto Munda as their leader. Later on, they built a big fort in Behar which they called Raj-Nagar.

One Sisirim,* king of Missour (Egypt), led his forces against the Mundas, but the powerful Chief Seto, at the head of his terrible troops, repulsed them.

Hundreds of years later, the Hindus, Gonds, Uraons, Kherwars, and other tribes entered the Mundawar country by the north-western *ghats* (passes). And in time war broke out between the Hindus and the Mundas. Some bloody battles were fought in the Punjab. The mighty warriors of the ancient Munda race, with their bows and arrows, their stones and slings, their drums and tom-toms, fell upon the new-comers like tigers on a flock of sheep. But after long years of warfare, the Mundas began to make peace with the Hindus, Gonds, Uraons and other races. The Mundas by degrees went even so far as to adopt from the Uraons the worship of the *bhuts* and choose *Uraoin* wives for themselves. And the offspring of such intermarriages formed a new tribe which came to be called Khautias or Kharias.

Years afterwards, the son of a Kherwar Chief, named Madho Das, became enamoured of a Munda girl. When his parents wanted to marry the young man to some Kherwar girl he declared that he would marry none other than the Munda girl of his choice. His parents did all they could to dissuade him, but to no purpose. At length, the doting father sought the parents of the Munda girl and proposed the marriage of his son with their daughter. The Mundas assembled in a Panchayet and discussed what they should do. But in the end, they unanimously declined to enter into such marital relations with other races. "For," said they, "if once we begin to do so, our race will gradually degenerate and at length die out altogether."

The baffled Madho Das was not long in wreaking his vengeance on the haughty Mundas. Under cover of night, the Kherwar Chief with three hundred followers came down upon the Mundas, burnt down their houses, and put them to flight. And the Mundas retreated to the Binji (Vindhya) hills. And there they had a very

* The earliest foreign invasion of India that classical Tradition records is that of Bacchus. The second expedition into India is said to have been led by Semiramis, the celebrated queen of Assyria. We also hear of a fabulous invasion by the Egyptian Sesostris. But neither History nor classic Tradition record any invasion of India by Sisirim.

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bad time of it. They constructed leaf-huts to shelter themselves against rain and wind, and had to live solely on roots and fruits of jungle growth. And now Sirma-Sing made Risa Munda the leader of the tribe. One night Risa had a vision of Sirma-Sing in a dream. He dreamt he heard Sirma-Sing addressing him: "Your sufferings shall soon be at an end. Awake! Arise! And go to the extensive and elevated country to the south where the Asurs lived in the days before the Deluge. There, you shall make for yourselves a permanent home." Risa Munda, guided by Heavenly light, led the Mundas southwards into an immense forest tract. There he raised an altar (*pinda*) and burnt incense in honour of Sirma-Sing and made clearances in the forest and settled down for good.

Risa Munda with a few followers got up on their *Pakhraj* ponies and in a short while (one *ghuri*) went round, and fixed the boundaries of the country. The country was infested with large and venomous *Nag* (cobra) serpents. And so they called it *Nag-disum* or the land of serpents.

Risa prayed to Sirma-Sing to rid the country of the serpents. And Sirma-Sing destroyed the big *Nag* serpents and made the country an agreeable home for the Mundas. The king Risa under instructions from Sirma-Sing appointed the Pahan Sutia as the head (*pradhan*) of the Mundas. And Sutia Pahan, the Munda chief, named the elevated forest tract 'Sutia Nag Khand' after him.

Sutia the Pahan next divided the country into seven *garhs* after the seven original *purthis* or ancestors. And as the Mundas originally belonged to twenty-one clans or Parhas, the seven *garhs* were subdivided into twenty-one Parganas. The seven *garhs* were named, Lohra-garh, Hazari-garh, Palum-garh, Manu-garh, Singha-garh, Kesal-garh and Surgus-garh.

And the twenty-one Perganas were: Omedanda, Doisa, Khukhra, Sirguja, Jashpur, Ganguapur, Porhat, Girga, Bisua, Lachra, Birua, Sonapur, Belkhadu, Belsing, Tamar, Sohardi, Kharsang, Udaipur, Bonai, Korea, and Changbhangkar. These originally consisted of one hundred and fifty-one villages and counted twenty-one thousand inhabitants.

Sutia was the *Sardar* or chief of all the seven *garhs*. And as an insignia of his chieftainship of the seven *garhs* he wore a *janau** with seven threads. Sutia appointed twenty-one Parha Mundas to manage the affairs of the twenty-one Parhas or Parganas.

**Janau* is the sacred thread worn by the Brahmans and other 'twice-born' Hindu castes.

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Once upon a day Sutia Pahan lay down underneath an over-spreading *Bar* tree not far off from his house. After he had fallen asleep, a huge Nag serpent at the bidding of Sirma-Sing proceeded to the spot and spread out his hood like an umbrella over him to protect the sleeping patriarch from the rays of the Sun. When Sutia awoke he saw the serpent, and was mightily amazed. At length he thanked Sirma Sing and got up and went his way.

Not long afterwards Sutia wanted a bride for his son. But no girl of a different clan or *gotra* from his own was to be had. And Sutia would not marry his son to a girl of the same Munda *gotra*, for, such a marriage he considered as incestuous as the union of two offspring of the same parents. So Sutia collected various birds and beasts and took them inside the seven gates of the Sutiambegarh. And the *Prodhans* or heads of the twenty-one Parhas were also called in. Each of the twenty-one chiefs were asked to choose the animal or plant he would have for his totem.* And in this way the twenty-one Parhas† were divided into twenty-one *kilis* or septs for purposes of marriage. Sutia Pahan became the founder of the *Barla kili*, Duka Munda of the *Horo kili*, Kura Munda of the *Kerketa kili*, Bela Munda of the *kaua kili*, Dukhna Munda of the *Hau kili*, Gangu Munda of the *Dhechua kili*, Lakho Munda of the *Baba kili*, Laimbo Munda of the *Dung dung kili*, Jitrai Munda of the *Jobabar kili*, Birsa Munda of the *Barwa kili*, Champa Munda of the *Sunga kili*, Karma Munda of the *Firu kili*, Gomea Munda of the *Lugun kili*, Somra Munda of the *Budu kili*, Leda Munda of *Herenj kili*, Udoy Munda of the *Nag kili*, Mangta Munda of the *Ore Kandir kili*, Raia Munda of the *Tuti kili*, Samu Munda of the *Bagsuria kili*, Porha Munda of the *Hemrom kili* and Sanika Munda of the *Dahang kili*. And thenceforward no Munda can lawfully marry within his own sept or *kili*. In course of time these original *kilis* were subdivided, and other *kilis* branched off out of them. All the heads of the *kilis* were subordinate to Sutia, the *Rajya-Pahan* or Pahan of the kingdom, as he alone could

* This account of the origin of totemistic sept. names as an artificial arrangement by which such names were adopted as symbols to distinguish different *kilis* or clans for purposes of exogamy, perhaps affords a better explanation of the phenomenon than the 'misinterpretation of nick names' in which Herbert Spencer (*vide* Principles of Sociology, I. 367) finds the origin of the *totem*. But the process was certainly not so very artificial and pre-arranged as the present legend would make out. A natural aversion to marrying near relatives has given rise to more than one exogamous system, such, for example the eponymous system of the higher castes among the Hindus.

† At present, however, a *parha patti* often consists of people of more than one *kili*.

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receive instructions direct from Sirma-Sing, and he, like Longfellow's Hiawatha,

“ Prayed and fasted in the forest,
Not for greater skill in hunting,
Not for greater craft in fishing,
Not for triumphs in the battle,
And renown among the warriors,
But for profit of the people,
For advantage of the nation.”

Such are some of the legends that the Mundas still treasure up in their memory as invaluable bequests left them by their forefathers. And the curious foreigner often tries in vain to induce the Munda to open his lips about the traditions of the past. But once you succeed in breaking the ice, it will make your heart glad to witness the enthusiastic volubility of the ordinarily taciturn Munda. Once “the pictures that hang on his Memory's walls” set his imagination on fire, he will cast all reserve to the winds. And his face, all aglow with conscious pride and emotion, he will recount the traditional legends of old, though with little skill of story-telling, with

“ Homely phrases, but each letter
Full of hope and yet of heart-break.”

From the gleam of tender pathos that shines in his eyes when he tells his legends, one fancies him telling his hearers as Schiller's Poet addressed his friends :—

“ Friends, fairer times have been
(Who can deny ?) than we ourselves have seen,
And an old race of more majestic worth,
Were History silent on the Past in sooth,
A thousand stones would witness of the truth
Which men disbury from the womb of Earth.”

Sarat Chandra Roy

RANDOM THOUGHTS

How little the Indian Bureaucracy know
The multifold ills from coercion that flow ;
That nations in thralldom, when well-nigh undone,
May turn like the worm that is trodden upon.

The ‘ Home charges,’ like leeches, suck Indian's blood dry,
But against the depletion 'tis treason to cry,
Tho ' each turn of the screw shocks and maddens the brain,
There 's balm, it is said, in the pressure and pain.

RANDOM THOUGHTS

There are anodynes too, that the State doth provide,
It's cheap country liquors and opium, its pride ;
Just guzzle the one, to be heir to a throne,
Take the other, and all the three worlds are your own.

Is Freedom the birth-right of one race alone ?
All Nature cries, ' No ' in a passionate tone ;
Even the beasts of the forest and fowls of the air,
All for Freedom, dear Freedom, with one voice declare !

But India is muzzled disarmed and held down
By brute force, and there's naught she can claim as her own ?
Her industries gone, to dire evils a prey,
Her condition is deeply affecting to-day.

And now we ' ve a compact with Everard Cotes,
To send home his day-dreams and fanciful notes ;
For, the Yellows all long for sensational news,
Which, seasoned with Chutni, they widely diffuse.

While Calcutta was burning, the gods in the hills
Varied their vocation with picnics and bills ;
On schemes of shikar at the cost of the state,
When business more serious on Pleasure might wait.

' Tis said they have lenses so powerful yet nice
That sedition below they discern in a trice ;
But those lenses are eyes of a pamper'd police,
Whose intrigues and aggressions are fatal to peace.

Yet these are the men, at whose instance, we find,
Boys are flogged, and our publicists prisoned or fined ;
The police are upheld, lest the empire should fall,
Tho ' " the trail of the serpent is over them all."

Let pæns ascend and sweet incense arise,
At morn and at eve, to our rulers so wise ;
But chiefly to the Chief, who vouchsafed from above
His omnium gath'rams and mandates love.

Ram Sharma

SELECTIONS

THE XXIIIrd INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DR. RASH BEHARY GHOSE'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :

My first duty is to tender you my thanks for the signal honour you have done me in asking me to take the chair. Believe me, I am more than grateful for the distinction you have conferred on me, unsought and unsolicited ;—a proud distinction, the proudest in your power to confer, but a distinction which carries with it a very heavy responsibility. For the position which I am occupying so unworthily is full of anxiety and was never more so than at the present juncture when heavy clouds have floated into the political sky. And in standing before you to-day I feel as if I was summoned to drive the chariot of the Sun ; and if I am spared the fate of Phæton, I shall owe my good fortune only to your forbearance and indulgent kindness on which, I am confident, I can safely rely. I can rely too with confidence on your willing co-operation ; for are we not all animated by one common purpose and do we not know that co-operation is the very life of concerted action which can never thrive in an atmosphere of continuous strife and difference ?

Every one must admit that we are passing through a sad and eventful period,—a period of stress and storm ; and if ever there was a time when we ought to close up our ranks and present a firm, serried and united front, that time is this ; for the situation is of more than ordinary gravity. It is full of difficulty and full of peril and unless we are imbued with a strong sense of discipline and of responsibility, the vessel of the Congress may be steered direct upon the rocks. It would be idle to deny, and I do not deny, that domestic dissensions have raised angry storms which are now sweeping across some parts of the country. But there is no real occasion for pessimism or despair ; though the incidents which recently occurred at Nagpur might well fill some minds with misgivings. There, is, however, every reason to think that these disturbances were mainly the work of some

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misguided youngmen who had been carried off their feet by the wild talk of irresponsible persons. Of one thing, however, I am certain those who have compelled us to change our place of meeting have no right to be proud of their achievement.

And here on behalf of the assembled delegates I must gratefully acknowledge the readiness and alacrity with which the people of Surat invited us to hold our sittings in their historic city. In offering their hospitality to the Congress they have only acted in accordance with their traditional generosity ; for they are citizens of no mean city. Surat, as history tells us, was the queen of Western India, a busy and famous mart before the Lake-village of Llyn-dyn was staked out and long long before Venice rose from the sea. But perhaps her greatest distinction, it is certainly her best title to our gratitude, is that Surat was the first resting place on Indian soil, where dissent was never suppressed by the sword the gibbet or the stake, of the Parsee pilgrim fathers who cheerfully left home and kindred for the sake of conscience and whose descendants have inherited the virtues with the blood of their ancestors and repaid their debt a thousand-fold to India ; for I make bold to say that there is no community whose love for the country is greater than that to which so many of our leaders belong, and which has given to us our ' Grand Old Man.'

I am glad to see in this assembly almost all our prominent leaders—men whose names are as household words and who have already taken an abiding place in the minds of the people. But I miss some well-known faces. Kali Churn Banerjee is no longer amongst us. A pious christian, an accomplished scholar, an eloquent speaker and an ardent patriot, he was an ideal leader respected by every community in the country. A most strenuous and earnest worker, his whole heart was in the Congress and his love for it was strong even in death. For who does not remember how he left a sick-bed to attend our last meeting in Calcutta ? Who does not remember how though overcome by the heat and warned by the doctors he refused to leave the assembly till he fell into a swoon and had to be carried out of the Pandal ? He died only a few days afterwards ; and when we

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think of the lonely Scotch cemetery in Koraya where his remains were laid, we cannot help feeling how much learning, how much modest and unassuming simplicity, how much piety, how much winsome tenderness and how much patriotism lie buried in the grave of Kali Churn Banerjee. That hand which every body was glad to touch is vanished. That voice which every body was glad to hear is still. But if to live in the hearts and memories of those whom we leave behind is not to die Kali Churn is not dead but is still alive. True, he no longer lives in his own person but he lives in us and will live on in those who succeed us, enjoying an immortality which is not given to all the sons of men. Pandit Biswambharnath too of Allahabad has been gathered to his fathers and we shall miss his mellow patriarchal wisdom in our counsels. But though his work on earth has been done, in that high sense of duty which alone could have nerved him when as President of the Reception Committee he welcomed the Congress delegates to Allahabad, though only three weeks before a paralytic seizure had brought him to the verge of the grave, he has left an example which will continue to inspire generations of his countrymen. The Pandit was in many ways a most remarkable man ; and it will be long before there arises among us another jurist, scholar and patriot who can make us forget the loss of Biswambharnath.

Gentlemen, the year that is now fast drawing to a close has seen the country convulsed to its depths and has truly been a dramatic year. The first act opened with the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and of Sirdar Ajit Singh. This was followed by the ordinance against public meetings, the Rawalpindi trial and the press prosecutions in the Punjab and in Bengal and the curtain dropped on what it is to be hoped was the last scene in the Council Chamber at Simla when the Public Meetings Act was passed.

It has been said in defence of the resurrection of Regulation III of 1818 that it is a standing law. It is not a standing law but a standing negation of all law, not a standing law but a standing menace to our liberty, a standing reproach in our Statute book. A prosecution, we have been gravely

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told, attracts public attention and a trial for sedition is therefore not always desirable. This is the good old rule the simple plan, which used to be followed in an ancient Scotch border town which also possessed a standing law, though even in Jedburgh the formality of a trial was not wholly dispensed with ; only it took place after the execution. It may be a mere weakness in a lawyer ; but I confess I cannot congratulate the Indian Government on their use of a weapon which is as obsolete in civilised jurisprudence as the rack or the screw. Their action in detaining a man for reasons which they dared not disclose was "illegal" "unconstitutional" "tyrannical" "arbitrary" "impudently absurd" and "preposterous." None of these epithets are mine. They have all been taken by me from Hansard and were used by a staunch liberal on a memorable occasion. And was not Mr. Morley's answer in the House of Commons the most outrageous and indefensible answer ever given since Simon de Montfort invented Parliament? But it seems that what is true under one degree of longitude is not true under another. What is true in Cape Town is not true in the Punjab.

Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?

Who would not weep if Morlieus were he?

And who was the first victim selected for the exercise of this arbitrary power? An earnest religious and social reformer, a man whose character was above all reproach, a man who lived not for himself but for others, the idol of the Punjab. Such a man is suddenly discovered by the secret police to be a revolutionary and political enthusiast animated by an insane hatred of the British Government and secretly plotting its forcible subversion. If Lala Lajpat Rai had been put on his trial he could have triumphantly vindicated his innocence and shown that even strong Lieutenant Governors are not infallible. He could have triumphantly shown that the garbled extracts in the *Wafadar* gave a most untruthful version of his speech. He could have triumphantly shown that all his aims and methods had been strictly constitutional and that he had always set his face against agitation which tended to sedition or disorder. But this privilege, which may be claimed by the meanest criminal, was denied to one

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of our foremost men ; and if Lala Lajpat Rai is now regarded as a martyr by his countrymen generally, it is the Government and the Government alone that have elevated him to that position and placed that priceless crown of thorns upon his head. If the fort of Mandalay is now regarded as a holy place, as I know it is by some of my countrymen, it is the Government and the Government alone that have invested it with that holiness.

In Etawah too a similar tragedy would have taken place had it not been averted by the good sense of Sir John Hewett who was able to see through the disgraceful conspiracy which had been so cunningly planned. But the spectre of an impending mutiny had obscured the vision of the Punjab officials and they saw in a mob riot a deep-laid scheme for the overthrow of the British rule. The result was the Rawalpindi prosecution which has thrown a lurid light on the methods of sedition hunters. Men occupying the highest position in society and looked up to as their leaders by the people in the Punjab were placed in the dock as felons who had by their seditious speeches incited violent riots. For six long months these men were detained in prison ; as bail was refused on the ground that they could not with safety to the State be allowed to be at large. But what was the end of this prosecution ? A complete vindication of their innocence and a most scathing exposure of the case for the crown. The judgment of the special magistrate shows that panic had magnified into rebellion a perfectly lawful agitation against very substantial grievances. The evidence on which the six lawyers had been kept in prison for months was "suspicious if not fabricated" and there was not the shadow of a shade of evidence to establish any sort of complicity on their part with any conspiracy against the British Crown.

And this leads me to remark that the situation in the Punjab was succinctly summed up by Lala Lajpat Rai in a letter which was written by him only a few hours before his arrest. The discontent he said was due to several causes which he set forth in chronological order.

(a) The letters and articles that appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* sometime in July and August last year under the heading "Signs of the times,"

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(b) The prosecution of the *Punjabee* coupled with the refusal of the Government to take similar action against the *Civil and Military Gazette*.

(c) The Colonisation Bill.

(d) The Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill.

(e) The increase of the Canal rates on the Bari-Doab Canal.

(f) The abnormal increase of Land Revenue in the Rawal Pindi District.

(g) The appalling mortality from plague which had made the people sullen and labour scarce, and raised the wages abnormally.

This diagnosis was perfectly correct ; for as soon as the most pressing grievances were removed, the Punjab became quiet though the bureaucracy will probably persuade themselves that this happy result was entirely due to the deportation of Lala Lajpat and of Ajit Singh, and that another mutiny had been averted solely by their foresight and timely precautions.

The press prosecutions too which were entered upon so lightly by the Government did not show much wisdom. In some instances the crown failed to secure a conviction and a defeat in such cases must always cover the Government with humiliation. Then again the prosecutions in Calcutta showed unmistakably the new spirit with which the people are prepared to face all attempts at coercion. In many of these cases the defendants refused to plead and cheerfully went to prison and they must be blind indeed who cannot see in it a new consciousness of nationality which at the present day inspires young India and has penetrated even the seclusion of the *zenana*. When the Editor of the *Yugantar* was sent to jail, there was a crowded meeting of Indian ladies in Calcutta not to condole but to present a congratulatory address to his mother and what did the old lady say in her reply ? "Bhupen's useful career has just begun," she said, "with his recent incarceration and his example will do more good than his mere presence as a humble worker in the midst of his countrymen." Again at the Barisal Conference, which was forcibly dispersed, some ladies flung away their ornaments on witnessing the

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humiliation of their husbands and sons and took a vow to forego all luxuries till the men had learnt to assert their lawful rights. Not satisfied with these prosecutions the Government undertook a crusade against mere school-boys and our young barbarians were either publicly flogged or condemned to hard labour. Is it a matter for wonder that all this should have called forth the most intense indignation throughout the country? The official may not believe it but we can assure him the Indian has eyes and hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections and passions.

Is it a matter for wonder that the political movement should have waxed stronger and stronger, driving even many moderate men into active sympathy with those whom they had previously regarded as impracticable visionaries?

And this brings me to the unrest in Bengal, the partition of which has not only strained the loyalty of many people but has led to tragic results which ought to have been foreseen by the author of that measure. One of its objects was to strengthen the Mahomedan influence in East Bengal. That influence has been strengthened; but its strength has been manifested in a peculiar way. I do not wish to dwell on the Mahomedan riots and the atrocities which occurred in East Bengal, but this I am bound to say that the local officials were lacking in that firmness and impartiality which are the best title of England to our allegiance. I wish to speak with moderation, but what are we to think when a Sessions Judge divides witnesses into two classes, Hindus and Mahomedans, and prefers the evidence of Mahomedans to Hindus, because they are Mahomedans. This avowed bias has naturally alienated Hindus who are burning with resentment.

Every one familiar with the recent history of Macedonia, and our officials are certainly familiar with it, knows that it is very difficult for a country to obtain autonomy when it is torn by religious and racial hatreds. To divide and rule, however, is a maxim which must be hateful to every Englishman and we should be sorry to charge any English official with such tactics. But the fact remains that for the first time in Bengal racial and religious hatreds have been surging in the New Province among communities who formerly lived

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on the most friendly terms. Lord Curzon, I find, protests against the notion that he meant to play off the Mahomedans against the Hindus and we are bound to accept his Lordship's denial ; but there is a well known maxim in law that every man must be presumed to foresee the consequences of his own acts ; though in the case of His Lordship with his well-known foible, we are not driven to rely upon this old legal saw.

The officials still fondly believe or pretend to believe that the Mahomedans were goaded to madness by the boycott movement of the Hindus ; and that this was the real cause of the general lawlessness of the lower classes among the Mahomedans which burst into flame in East Bengal only a few months ago. It is, however, singular that this lawlessness did not reveal itself when the movement was at its height. Again if the official view is correct we have a remarkable instance of the innate perversity of the oriental mind ; for the boycott benefited the Mahomedans and not the Hindus by reviving the weaving industry on which they had lived for generations. It is, however, unnecessary to discuss this question at length because it has now been placed beyond all controversy by the solemn judgments pronounced not by Hindu but by English and Mahomedan Magistrates.

At Jamalpur where the disturbances began in the Mymensing District, the first information lodged at the Police Station contained no reference whatever to boycott or picketing. Mr. Beatson-Bell, the trying Magistrate at Dewangunj observed that boycott was not the cause of the disturbances. Another special Magistrate at Dewangunj, himself a Mahomedan gentleman of culture, remarked "there was not the least provocation for rioting, the common object of the rioters was evidently to molest the Hindus." In another case the same Magistrate observed "The evidence adduced on the side of the prosecution shows that on the date of the riot the accused had read over a notice to a crowd of Musalmans and had told them that the Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders to the effect that no body would be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus. So after the Kali's image was broken

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by the Musulmans, the shops of the Hindu traders were also plundered. Again, Mr. Barniville, the Sub-divisional officer of Jamalpur, in his report on the Melanda hat riot, said "some Musalmans proclaimed by beat of drum that the Government had permitted them to loot the Hindus." And in the Hargilarchar abduction case the same magistrate remarked that the outrages were due to the announcement that the Government had permitted the Mahomedans to marry Hindu widows in nikka form.

The true explanation of the savage outbreak is to be found in the red pamphlet which was circulated so widely among the Mahomedans in East Bengal, and in which there is not a word about boycott or Hindu volunteers. "Ye Musulmans, said the red pamphlet, arise, awake, do not read in the same schools with Hindus. Do not buy any thing from a Hindu shop. Do not touch any article manufactured by the Hindu hands. Do not give any employment to a Hindu. Do not accept any degrading office under a Hindu. You are ignorant, but if you acquire knowledge you can at once send all Hindus to *Jehannum* (Hell). You form the majority of the population of this province, among the cultivators also you form the majority. It is agriculture that is the source of wealth. The Hindu has no wealth of his own and has made himself rich only despoiling you of your wealth. If you become sufficiently enlightened then the Hindus will starve and soon become Mahomedans."

The man who preached this *Zehad* was only bound down to keep the peace for one year. You are probably surprised at such leniency. We in Bengal were not, or were only surprised to hear that the man had been bound down at all.

At the present moment there is undoubtedly a lull in East Bengal; but who knows that the province may not be swept again by another violent storm of wild frenzy; and brute ferocity? For the devil of religious jealousy and hatred may be easily evoked; it cannot be as easily dismissed.

The partition of Bengal is at the root of all these disorders and the discontent created by it has spread to other parts of the country. The result is a general unrest and in the opinion of the Government the situation is becoming serious. But is

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not the solution of the problem within easy reach? You cannot govern India without the sympathy and confidence of the people. That sympathy and that confidence have been imperilled by Lord Curzon's autocratic measure and the only way to win back our sympathy and confidence is its reversal and not the Seditious Meetings Act which was passed on the 1st of November last. Of that act, I find it difficult, to speak with patience. But as my honourable friend Mr. Gokhale said in the Council Chamber even more dangerous than the act itself is the policy that lies behind it—a policy which is unwise in the highest degree and which is bound to fail in India as it has failed everywhere else. It will burn into the minds of the people harsh memories which even time may be powerless to efface, and will, there is every reason to fear, enhance the very evil which it is intended to control.

We hope, however, that this new weapon with which the Executive have been armed will be very sparingly used. For the Prime Minister said only a few days ago that he was in favour of the free toleration of all agitation that is not directly and openly subversive of order. And I have no doubt that these principles of toleration will be loyally carried out by the Indian Government, when they recover from the panic which has seized them. All agitation is not subversive of order. Every agitator is not a rebel though he is labelled as such by a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. A speech may be objectionable in expression and temper but it ought not to be repressed merely because it might indirectly be subversive of order.

By a strange irony of fate, it was left to a sympathetic Viceroy and a liberal Secretary of State to adopt a policy of repression which Lord Curzon never ceases to remind us he had no occasion to call in aid. But the responsibility for this new policy primarily rests upon his Lordship, not upon Mr. Morley or Lord Minto who did not come into a 'haven of peace.' Heavy storms had broken out before the retirement of Lord Curzon who left undone everything which he ought to have done and did everything which he ought not to have done. People for the first time began to distrust the good-faith of their rulers ;

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for his Lordship made no secret of his conviction that England's true mission was to govern India but not through the people or with their assistance. The commercial exploitation of the country and its administration by Englishmen were his ideal of imperialism. Indians were to be excluded from all offices of trust and responsibility and were to be denied even all opportunities of qualifying themselves for such offices, which were to be reserved exclusively for the ruling race. And in every department of the public service a large number of highly paid offices were created by him to be filled by his own countrymen.

We have, Gentlemen, a long and heavy indictment to bring against Lord Curzon. We charge him with having arrested the progress of education. We charge him with having set back the dial of Local Self-Government. We charge him with having deliberately sacrificed the interests of the Indian people in order to conciliate English exploiters and administrators. And lastly we charge him with having set Bengal in a blaze. It is Lord Curzon and Lord Curzon alone who is responsible for the rise of the new party; for he drove the people to despair and to madness. It is true Lord Curzon has retired and yet the new party is growing in numbers. But we maintain that Lord Curzon is responsible for this growth and if it is also growing in bitterness, Lord Curzon and Lord Curzon alone is responsible for it. Mr. Morley speaks of his duty to arrest the hand which would set the prairie on fire. Why did he not then, though in opposition, seek to arrest Lord Curzon's hand? He could not have rendered a greater service both to England and to India, for no Englishman has done more to undermine our loyalty than the Viceroy who sought to humiliate not only His Majesty's Indian subjects but also the great ruling chiefs. It is quite possible we have failed to appreciate His Lordship's good intentions but the herald who recalled only the other day the virtues of Lord Clive may console himself with the reflection that justice may yet be done to him in the avenging pages of history—in the Greek Kalends.

If the Punjab is quiet, it is only because the grievances of the people have been redressed. If Bengal is still in a dis-

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turbed condition, it is only because the partition of Bengal is a festering sore which will not be healed. Let the Bengali speaking people be placed under a governor with an executive council and you will see the winter of our discontent made glorious summer. Force is no remedy and the best security for the peace of the country is the conviction that all real grievances will be redressed, not deportations or coercion Acts. And I have no hesitation in saying that timely concessions alone can arrest the progress of the discontent which though at present is a cloud no bigger than a man's hand may in time overshadow the whole land.

And this reminds me that Mr. Morley made a fatal mistake, fatal to his reputation as a liberal and a statesman, when he refused to undo the partition of Bengal and sought shelter behind a settled fact. If he had only shown more courage Bengal would not have been convulsed and there would have been no excuse for the reactionary policy which has done so much to tarnish his fair fame as a liberal statesman. And yet though unwilling to disturb the partition of Bengal in his first budget speech Mr. Morley spoke sympathetically of the new spirit which is abroad in India. The Indian system of Government could not, he admitted, move in the old narrow groove but called for improvement. Speaking of the Indian Congress, he said that there was no reason to be frightened at its demands, as it did not insist on any violent or startling new departures. Dissatisfaction with the administration, said the great disciple of Mill, is not disaffection. It is true he did not think that India should have universal suffrage or be placed on the same footing as the self-governing Colonies but he insisted upon the spirit, the temper, the principles and the maxims of English institutions being applied to the Government of India. Mr. Morley also said that a definite and deliberate move ought to be made with a view of giving competent and able Indians the same access to the higher posts in the administration that are given to their British fellow subjects and pointed out that the proclamation of Queen Victoria should be construed in a liberal and generous sense, and not refined away with the ingenuity of a quibbling attorney's clerk. We should be untrue, said the friend and biographer of Gladstone,

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"to all the traditions of this Parliament and to those who from time to time and from generation to generation have been the leaders of the Liberal Party, if we were to show ourselves afraid of facing and recognising the new spirit with candour and consideration." We know how these professions have ended. They have ended in deportations, ordinances, public prosecutions, punitive police, military constabulary and Public Meetings Acts.

On the last Budget debate, this great liberal minister boldly said that he had no apology whatever to offer for the deportations in the Punjab and he recommended a policy of firmness which in India means repression. Now we are quite willing to believe in Mr. Morley's kindness, sympathy and love of justice, though it may cost us a painful mental effort ; but when he says his anchor still holds, we are bound to remind him that his vessel has veered round with the tide. He will not probably admit that he has changed his ground ; but he has certainly changed his front.

It is not, however, at all difficult to account for this sad change in Mr. Morley's attitude. He has been evidently misled by his responsible advisers whose knowledge of the condition of the country is derived from secret Police reports, and who told him of wide spread sedition and the imminence not of a mere mutiny but of a revolt against the English rule with all its attendant horrors,—a rising of the women and children against the men. A large section of the English press also sought to create enmity between the two races by stirring up the memory of the dark days of the Indian mutiny stained with so many crimes and so much carnage ; and the London *Times*, true to its traditions recounted the old story with embellishments in order to embitter our rulers against us. What wonder then if that apostle of freedom to whom reasons of state are only the tyrant's plea has been compelled to yield to the pressure put upon him by responsible advisers and by the press. I will not say with the tory press in England that Mr. Morley has been translated. But we are painfully reminded of Ariel in the hateful bondage of Sycorax. The truth is politics even in our day, is like pitch. You cannot touch it without being defiled and the Secretary of State might have profited

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by the warning of Comte that a philosopher who holds up from his closet lofty ideals of conduct should not take an active part in the practical administration of a country like India where a liberal statesman must frequently stoop to arts which may be reconciled to the official conscience but not to the conscience of the plain man.

Mr. Morley, I repeat, has fallen under the spell of the bureaucracy. We are quite willing to believe he means well. Indeed, the India office like the floor of the House of Commons is paved with good intentions. But under the present system of administration, it is impossible for any single man to do any real service to us. The Secretary of State has to take his facts from the Indian officials and the only public opinion of which he knows any thing is not the public opinion in India but the public opinion in England nourished upon the lies told by unscrupulous correspondents which are faithfully reproduced in the English press.

The growth of a new party in India has also served as a very useful excuse for delaying all reforms. I am, however, bound to say that this party is not, at the present moment, at all dangerous. Every sensible man disapproves of its methods; if the Government can only rally the moderates to their side by gradually preparing the country to take its position as a self-governing State or a federation of States united together under the supreme authority of England, they will extinguish the new party completely and the ominous shadow which has projected itself over the future fortunes of the country will disappear. The bureaucracy, however, is unable to distinguish or refuses to distinguish between those who earnestly seek for reform and the irresponsible agitators who would have nothing to do with the Government. They are all tarred with the same brush. Those who demand a larger share in the administration of their country as essential to the welfare and the stability of the British Government are confounded with the pestilent demagogue who would drive the hated foreigner into the sea. Those who counsel their countrymen to have patience, confident that their rulers would in time give them all they can reasonably want, if they confine their agitation to constitutional methods are confounded with those who assert that

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nothing good can come out of England and that passive resistance if persisted in would compel the English to retire from the country. But is it not a serious blunder which in politics we all know is worse than a crime to denounce the whole of the educated classes as disloyal? Such denunciations have sometimes a fatal tendency to realise themselves.

Mr. Morley recently spoke of the enemies of England but who are these enemies? Not certainly the educated classes who represent the better mind of India. The real enemies of England are those Englishmen who lose no opportunity of showing their hatred and contempt for the people of this country. Flushed with the insolence of a ruling caste they treat them as an inferior race with whom friendly or sympathetic relations are impossible. The danger of such an attitude was clearly discerned by Lord Salisbury who when he was Secretary of State for India addressed this memorable warning to the Coopers Hill College students more than thirty years ago. "No system of Government" he said "can be permanently safe where there is a feeling of inferiority or of mortification affecting the relations between the governing and the governed. There is nothing I would more earnestly wish to impress upon all who leave this country for the purpose of governing India than that, if they choose to be so, they are the only enemies England has to fear. They are the persons who can, if they will deal a blow of the deadliest character at the future rule of England." Since this warning was given the relations between the two classes have grown worse and have given rise to racial hatred which is sure to cause serious trouble; for as Mr. Morley said only the other day bad and over-bearing manners in India are a political crime.

The real enemies of England are those who talk of the lofty duty of England towards India but believe or pretend to believe that this can only be discharged by a foreign bureaucracy and that in the interest of the people themselves they ought not to have any real share in the administration of the country. For as Mr. Morley's most tender, lofty, cheerful and delicately sober of all moralists says "the usual excuse of those who do evil to other people is that their object is to do them good."

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The real enemies of England are those who try to stir up racial hatred in the press by the most unblushing lies whenever reform is in the air. I am afraid to trust myself to speak of the conduct of these men who are a standing menace to British rule, and will only say that that we deeply regret that at this critical period the Government of India should have selected a correspondent of the *Daily Mail* to supply them with Indian news at an extravagant salary. Who does not know the achievements of that paper in all parts of the world, in Africa, in China and in India? Who does not remember the story of the 'coronation' of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, of the reign of terror established in Eastern Bengal by the 'National Volunteers,' the 'Barisal stage' the incipient mutiny and last though not least the treasonable incitements of Mr. Keir Hardie? This is certainly not the way to restore the confidence of the people who are overcome by a sense of utter helplessness and despair.

Mr. Morley said in his last speech that he could not discover what we want our rulers to do which they are not slowly and gradually taking steps to accomplish and seemed to think that we were crying for the Moon. But the National Congress does not surely cry for the Moon when it asks for the reduction of the military expenditure. The National Congress does not surely cry for the Moon when it protests against degrading colonial ordinances and demands for the Indian the ordinary rights of British citizenship in the Colonies. The National Congress does not surely cry for the Moon when it seeks the separation of Judicial from Executive functions or protests against the Partition of Bengal. The National Congress does not surely cry for the Moon when it insists upon the extension of primary education or the limitation of the revenue on lands which belong to the State. The National Congress does not surely cry for the Moon when it insists upon a truly effective representation of the people in the Legislative Councils or upon their representation in the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Governors of Madras and of Bombay.

We do not demand the immediate recall of Lord Kitchener or the disbandment of the Indian Army. We do

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not demand universal suffrage. And yet these were some of the red herrings Mr. Morley dragged across the path of English public opinion in his Abroath Speech. What we do demand is that our rulers should introduce reforms as steps towards giving us that self-government which is now the aspiration of a people educated for three generations in the political ideas of the West. Mr. Morley admits that the English are here not for their own interest but for the interest of the millions committed to their charge. Now, though this assertion has an unctuous theological flavour about it, and must be taken with a few grains of Kurcutch salt; I take it no Englishman will deny that the supremacy of the English is not to last for ever and that their real object is to teach India to rule herself. I am confident that every true Englishman who has an inborn sense of freedom and justice has faith in self-government. And I can affirm with equal confidence that, however, beneficent a foreign rule may be, no people in which all manhood has not been killed out will ever willingly submit for ever to the yoke though it may be wreathed with flowers. This is a natural sentiment which must commend itself to every true hearted Englishman. The brightest jewel in the British crown must not be regarded merely as a market for British goods or a field for the safe investment of British capital or as opening a dignified career to our "boys." Now can any one honestly say that Engand has done all that she might have done towards accomplishing her mission? What, I ask our rulers, have you done during the one and half centuries of your stewardship? Given increased material prosperity? Granted; though the people with oriental perversity still continue to die of famine. Given us high education? Granted; though here again in ways peculiar to the East where the law of cause and effect does not hold good that education has according to you led not to contentment but to disaffection. But if that education as we assert has with all its faults given you public servants as able and as loyal as their English brethren, has not the time come to give the educated classes a larger share in the administration of the country. We look at the achievements of Japan in less than fifty years. We look at Persia, we look at

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China and our minds are filled with despair. We cannot any longer be fed with worn-out platitudes ; and when Mr. Morley deals in them he forgets that we too may claim to have kindled our modest rushlights at Burke and Mill's benignant lamps. We too know the painful journey that lies before us before we can be welded into the political unity of a nation. Long, long is the way, rugged is the ground and the weary steps must be trodden with bleeding feet, with bleeding knees and with bleeding hearts. But do not, we pray you, stand with a drawn sword to impede our journey.

I repeat that we are not crying for the Moon. I repeat, that all we ask, is that our country should take her rightful place among the nations under the ægis of England. We want in reality and not in mere name to be the sons of the Empire. Our ambition is to draw closer to England and to be absorbed in that greater Britain in which we have now no place. The ideal after which we are striving is autonomy within the Empire, and not absolute independence. Let England help us in attaining our object and her name will continue to shine with undimmed glory, even when the Newzealander sits on the ruined arches of Westminster Bridge.

A new spirit is abroad in India which calls for an improvement in the Indian system of Government which has now become an anachronism. Men nurtured on Western ideals and literature must be animated by new aspirations which must be satisfied. The time that Macaulay foresaw the most glorious day for England has now arrived with the growth of new ideas and new aspirations. The Indians insist upon a greater share in the administration of their own affairs. This demand is resisted by an autocratic bureaucracy who are jealous of the slightest encroachment on the privileges of their order. It is admitted on all hands that the people of this country are most docile and law-abiding and yet portions of the country are in a state of ferment. This is due not only to the resistance to the demand of the people for a larger share in the management of their own affairs but also to the reactionary policy persistently followed in recent years by the Government, and their contempt for public opinion and the legitimate aspirations of the

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people. Political life is stirring in India which must be faced in a considerate spirit but there has been, as yet, no serious attempt to do so by the Government. The result is general discontent. The bureaucrats are certainly wise in their generation. They defer all reforms till the discontent gathers volume and leads to seditious movements when they readily seize on them as a pretext for repression and for indefinitely postponing any experiment in Self-Government. The Spanish matador, as we all know, maddens the bull with his muleta and then plunges his sword into its neck.

The supreme necessity of the hour is sympathy. We wish to see less and less of the strong hand, and more and more of the strong nerve, the strong head and the kind heart. As the Prime Minister recently said the Indian administration should be brought into closer contact with the Indian people and that it is only by an honest courageous and persistent attempt to do so that England would discharge her momentous trust,—the most momentous trust that was ever committed to a great State. And there never was a time when sympathy was more needed ; for India is truly a country of many sorrows and is stricken sorely by plague and famine.

And this brings me to the reforms which Mr. Morley shadowed forth towards the end of his speech on the last Indian Budget debate. These were, in addition to a Royal Commission to enquire into the evils of over-centralisation (first) the institution of an Advisory Council of Notables (second) the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, (third) the fuller discussion of the Budget in the Viceroy's Council, and (fourth) the nomination of one or two Indians to the Secretary of State's Council in London.

It would be premature to express any opinion on the work of the Decentralization Commission. We have however every reason to think that it will strengthen the elective element on Municipal and Local Boards and that the representatives of the people will be associated with the District officer in the work of local administration. I know that most people distrust commissions ; though Lord Curzon was free from any such weakness. But we trust that the decen-

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tralization commission will prove an exception to the general rule and lead to great improvements in the administration as the terms of reference are wide enough to include proposals for advancing the cause of local self-Government by strengthening and developing Municipal and Local Boards and by decentralizing District Administration. The distribution of power between the Supreme and Provincial Governments is a matter of secondary importance to us. But to what extent our control of local affairs in Municipalities and District Local Boards is real—also to what extent the Administration of a district by the Collector and District Magistrate is influenced directly and indirectly by the opinion of the people of the district—these are matters of supreme importance. Though we may not be yet in a position to make a correct forecast of the result of the labours of the Commission, our best men must direct their energies towards making these labours fruitful and this can only be effected by our coming forward in sufficient numbers to give evidence before it. Of course, only such persons should come forward for the purpose as have a fair grasp of these questions and some personal acquaintance with either Local Self-Government or District Administration. The present disposition which, I fear, is general all over the country to leave the Commission alone is most unfortunate and will only do us harm. We should insist that the composition of Municipal and District Local Boards should now be entirely or almost entirely elective. We should also insist that the resources at their disposal should be larger than at present. And we should lastly insist that the control of Government over Local Bodies should be similar to that of the Local Government Board in England, and as there it should be exercised only in the interests of efficiency and purity of administration, and that subject to this control, Local Bodies should be free to manage local affairs and spend local resources as they deem best. Then and then only would they feel a real sense of responsibility in the matter of Local Self-Government which can never be developed under the present system of constant and harassing interference on the part of officials. As regards District Administration, everybody will admit that the Collector and

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District Magistrate should be emancipated from the present excessive Secretariat control and in place of it, every head of a District should have associated with him a board composed of elected and nominated members, which may at first be entirely or almost entirely advisory, but which, in course of time should be entrusted with definite and gradually expanding powers of control. All important administrative matters concerning a district, except such as may have to be treated as strictly confidential, should be laid before this board for advice, which the Collector and District Magistrate should not be at liberty to set aside except for reasons to be recorded in writing. If the experiment succeeds, as it is bound to do, the board should be empowered to exercise substantial control over most matters of District Administration like the administration of excise and forest rules, famine and plague administration.

The first three reforms adumbrated by Mr. Morley are now embodied in what is known as the Simla scheme and I propose to deal with these reforms very briefly. The idea of a Council of Notables is not quite new. A similar measure was tried by Lord Lytton in 1877 but as Mr. Morley admits it was a complete failure ; and I fear that unless the scheme is considerably modified, the proposed reform will share the same fate. For the Council is sure to be a reactionary body,—an Indian House of Lords with this difference that the English House of Lords contains many able and accomplished men who have been trained in politics from their earliest youth and who are in a large measure in touch with the general trend of public opinion. I do not, however, deny that the proposed Council if it is properly constituted and its functions enlarged, may be a useful institution. But the present scheme is open to a variety of objections. In the first place though Ruling Princes may well be invited to a Council which has to deal with matters touching the welfare of their states or their relations to the paramount power, British subjects alone should be eligible as members of a Council which will have to deal exclusively with questions relating to administration in British India on which Ruling chiefs are not likely to be able to give much useful advice.

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The proposed Council is also open to objection on the ground that the Councillors are not to be consulted collectively but only individually. Then again it is absolutely necessary in order to create confidence and to secure in some measure popular representation that a certain proportion of the Members should be elected by the different Provinces. The Council should also meet at stated times and whenever any proposed measure is not accepted by a majority of the members it should be dropped or at any rate postponed for further consideration. You cannot invite opinions only to flout them.

The proposed reform of the Viceroy's Legislative Council is also open to very serious objections, if indeed it is not a step backwards. It has been almost universally condemned as the proposal to allow the Local Councils to return only seven out of fifty four members would seriously reduce the influence of the educated community who, notwithstanding the sneers at intellectuals, lawyers, and schoolmasters are the real leaders of public opinion. Distrust, we all know, breeds distrust, and the Government ought not to be surprised if my countrymen regard their proposals with the same suspicion with which the Trojans regarded the friendly gifts of the Greeks.

The functions of the Council should also be enlarged and the debate on the budget ought to be made a reality instead of a mere academic exercise. This can only be done by allowing the members to divide on any question on which there may be a difference of opinion on any head in the budget. The Council should also be given an opportunity of discussing under proper safeguards questions relating to administration on which there is a strong public feeling.

The Provincial Councils should also be expanded on the same lines and every District should be allowed to return a member. And the Advisory Boards for assisting local Governors in carrying on the administration should be constituted on the model of the Council of Notables. All important matters connected with local administration should be referred to these Boards for opinion before any action is taken. This is the only way to bring the administration into touch with the people.

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I would ask you to consider the reform scheme carefully for I am sure the Government will give due weight to any recommendations which may be made by you. It has been put forward before the public for criticism and it is our duty to suggest such additions and alterations as would in our opinion improve the scheme. It would certainly not be wise to reject the proposals simply because they do not go far enough in a petulant spirit. On the other hand the Government have no right to be surprised if in their present mood my countrymen refuse to be consoled by these rather doubtful concessions for the deportation of British subjects without a trial or the partition of Bengal.

It remains only to add with regard to the fourth proposal of Mr. Morley that it has already been carried out. It is no doubt a great step forwards but its usefulness will entirely depend on the careful selection of the members. But the selections which have been made, have not commanded general approval. Such approval can only be secured by giving the people a voice in the selection. We must, therefore, ask that whenever an Indian has to be appointed all elected members of the several Legislative Councils should be invited to submit three names to the Secretary of State who should then select one out of the three.

I will now pass on to the present position of the National Congress. Gentlemen, it has been said that there is a hopeless division in our ranks and that we have now come to the parting of ways. It has been said that we are divided into two parties,—those who place their faith in constitutional methods and those who have lost all faith in them—and that it is impossible for the two parties any longer to act together. Now in a vast organisation like the Indian Congress, which embraces every section of the community, differences of opinion must be inevitable; though they cannot be allowed to reach a point which would paralyze our action. Quarrels when they stop short of this only prove not the weakness but the strength of our combination. They show the vigour of life and not the languor of decay. One thing, however, we must not forget. We must not forget that the National Congress is definitely committed only to constitutional methods of agitation to which it is fast

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moored and if the new party does not approve of such methods and cannot work harmoniously with the old, every body must admit it has no place within the pale of the Congress. Secession therefore is the only course open to it. But I most fervently hope and trust that nothing of the kind will happen, for are we not all soldiers fighting in the same cause and under the same flag marching together to the golden trumpet note sounded by Dadabhai Naoroji last year for the great battle of *Swaraj*? Are we not all inspired with the same ideas, the same thoughts, the same desires and the same aspirations? The Congress exists to draw us together and not to divide us. It stands pledged as ever to the larger employment of the people of this country in the public services so as to gradually dispense with the present expensive administration. It stands pledged as ever to our larger representation in the Legislative Councils. It stands pledged as ever to the reduction of the enormous military expenditure and to a more equal division of the burden between England and India. It stands pledged as ever to the limitation of the land revenue. It stands pledged as ever to the separation of Executive and Judicial functions. It stands pledged as ever to the Swadeshi movement. It stands pledged as ever to the resolution that the boycott movement in Bengal inaugurated by way of protest against the partition of the Province is a legitimate movement. It stands pledged as ever to the reunion of the people of Bengal under one administration. And lastly it stands pledged as ever to win gradually for the country by all constitutional means that autonomy which England has so wisely granted to her colonies.

We all recognise the supreme need of unity and of patriotic sacrifice. We are all agreed that nations are made by themselves. We are all agreed on the necessity of education on national lines and the general elevation of the masses so essential to the attainment of a higher political life. We are all agreed on the necessity of industrial development. For even deeper than political reform, before mere forms of Government lies the great question of the industrial regeneration of the country. Let us stand by the Swadeshi

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movement which is founded not on hatred but on love ; love of our own country, not hatred of the foreigner. Our creed is short and consists in the development of India for ourselves ; but Swadeshi within the limits of the law. It is a patriotic sentiment which involves no disloyalty. We are determined not to use foreign goods so far as practicable and no amount of repression will deter us from carrying out our resolution. We can not protect our industries by tariff legislation, but we can show our love for the country by our sympathy for the masses who are now steeped in unspeakable poverty. The Anglo-Indian community however have taken fright at this movement and the Government too have been infected by it. They draw a sharp distinction between Swadeshi and boycott ; but unless boycott is accompanied by violence is there any real difference between the two ?

I confess I see no reason why we should not still be able to work in harmony. A house divided against itself cannot stand and we must be on our guard against the deadly peril of disunion. The race may not always be to the swift nor the battle to the strong but depend upon it without patient discipline and self-control, without courage and determination, without a sense of loyalty, of order and of duty, our enterprise is bound to fail. The citadel of bureaucracy is much stronger than the walls of Jericho. Brother delegates, the night is dark and tempestuous. Let us hold together and wait in patience for the dawn, not resting till the bright morning comes, fearless in our faith and strong in our hopes. But this I am painfully compelled to say that unless wiser counsels prevail, there is bound to be a cleavage when we must part company and the Congress left free to follow the path of constitutional agitation marked out by its founders, the only path which promises a successful issue.

The new party seems to have persuaded itself that it is hopeless to expect any concessions from our rulers and that political agitation on the lines of the National Congress are a delusion and a snare. The true bureaucrat, it says, does not appreciate moderation and always treats the constitutional reformer with secret contempt. Like the Sinfin party in Ireland, it has lost all faith in constitutional

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movements but it must be said to its credit that it has also no faith in physical force ; nor does it advise the people not to pay taxes with the object of embarrassing the Government. I am of course speaking of the leaders. All its hopes are centred in passive resistance of a most comprehensive kind, derived, I presume, from the modern history of Hungary, the pacific boycott of all things English. 'If I understand its programme aright, we must refuse to serve Government in any capacity either as paid servants or as members of Legislative Councils, Local Boards or Municipalities. British Courts of Justice too should be placed under a ban and courts of arbitration substituted for them ;—a proposal by the way which shows that the agitation is not the work of hungry lawyers. All schools and colleges maintained by the Government should also be boycotted. In a word we must get rid of our habit of leaning on the Government and create in its place a habit of thinking and acting as if the Government were not. All this, however, is to be effected not by physical force but by social pressure ; for there has as yet arisen no party to counsel violence or any other breach of the law.

Now it seems to me to put it mildly that this is a counsel of despair which may appeal to 'the impatient idealist,' but which is foredoomed to failure. I speak not in anger but in sorrow ; for it is quite possible to sympathise with this new phase of patriotism, this yearning for an unattainable ideal. But we must look facts in the face. We must recognize them loyally and if it is true that no man is ever good for much who has not in his youth been carried off his feet by fiery enthusiasm, it is equally true that it needs the bit and the bridle. For enthusiasm unless controlled by sound judgment frequently ends in ghastly tragedies. You all know the story of the city with the three gates with their inscriptions ; the first said " Be bold," the second " Be bold and ever more be bold " while the third and last inscription which the horseman read was " Be not too bold." You forget that rashness is not courage. You forget that hasty maxims drawn from the history of other nations and other times are extremely dangerous, as the conditions are never the same and action which produces a certain result in one

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country at one time may lead to a directly opposite result in another country and at another time. You forget that there is no doctrine so universal and comprehensive that you are bound to act upon it at all hazards. You forget it may be a cynical remark but it is perfectly true, that though a martyr may be worshipped for his sufferings and his sacrifices, he is not always counted among the wisest of men, and his example is more frequently admired than followed. 'I need not go far afield to seek for illustrations. You pride yourselves on the idea that you alone have the courage of your convictions and that the moderate party are disloyal to their country and would betray her with a kiss. But you forget that there is a faith and perhaps as has been rightly said a deeper faith which knows how to stand still and wait patiently till the fruit is ripe and may be gathered without violence. Your aims may be generous but do not drag the country into perils which you do not foresee but which are sure to follow on your methods. The millenium surely will not arrive when all Government colleges and schools are closed, when all Municipal and District Boards are abolished and elected members refuse to sit in the Legislative Councils of the Empire. Petulance is not manliness. It is easy to revile authority in season and out of season but not so easy to build up a nation. Of one thing I am sure. One thing I know. Mere rant however full of fire will not help us. What we want is action, leadership and discipline. What we want is earnest work in co-operation with the Government if possible but in any case in conformity with moral and constitutional methods. Temporary failures must not discourage us. Hopes deferred must not sicken us. We must pursue our course with that courage which inspires the soldier in a forlorn hope with heart for any fate, conscious of our integrity and conscious of the nobleness of our cause.

I implore you not to persevere in your present course. Do not be beguiled by mere phantoms. You cannot put an end to British rule by boycotting the administration. Your only chance under the present circumstances of gaining your object lies in co-operation with the Government in every measure which is likely to hasten our political emancipation ;

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for so long as we do not show ourselves worthy of it, rely upon it England will maintain her rule and if you really want self-government you must show that you are fit for such responsibility. Then and then only will the English retire from India, their task completely accomplished, and their duty done.

But suppose your movement is successful and the English retire from the country leaving the people to stew in their own juice. Imagine the chaos and disorder into which the whole country would be immediately plunged. I really cannot, I hope to be forgiven for this remark, take the members of the new party seriously ; I believe they are at present only in a sulky mood ; because constitutional and peaceful methods have failed. They say that the national Congress has been for years only ploughing the sands of the sea-shore, that all prospects of reasonable concessions are more and more receding into the distance and that we are deluding ourselves and our countrymen in persevering in our mendicant policy. Arguments, they say, are of no avail nor supplications however humble. They are always met by insult and by contempt. Now I venture to think that this mood betrays an impatience which the history of every reform shows to be in the highest degree unreasonable,—a sullen and angry mood which may readily slide into a temper which would be a menace to law and order and would furnish our enemies with the plea that the public tranquility can only be secured by repression. You may deny it but I fear you are in danger of slowly but surely drifting into treason.

Do not, I beseech you, play the game of our enemies but be staunch to the Congress as ever and abide by the principles, and follow the chart laid down by its founders. Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do the unjust disabilities under which we labour ? Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do our exclusion from our legitimate share in the administration of the country ? Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do the annual drain which is impoverishing the country ? Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do the burden of the military expenditure which arrests

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all progress and but for which the country would have been covered with a network of schools, with free primary education within the reach of the masses? Do you believe that we are not as determined as you are to work out our political emancipation? But I ask you seriously if it would not be madness to give up constitutional agitation either here or in England especially in England where public opinion not of the classes but of the great democracy is now the dominating factor in politics. I do not invite you to supplicate with bated breath and whispering humbleness, but to demand of a nation jealous of its honour a fulfilment of the pledges which have been repeatedly given to us. What lies in our way is the utter ignorance of the English people about us. They have been led to believe that the administration of India is perfect but if they were made acquainted with the real condition of the country at the present day they would gladly support such reforms as we demand; though we must be prepared for the opposition of those classes whose vested interests might be imperilled by any reform. We must therefore try to educate English public opinion. And that public opinion when well informed and not warped by lies is sure to be essentially just. It is only by enlisting such opinion on our side that we can hope to achieve our objects. We must therefore endeavour to place our views before the people of England by every means in our power, by active agitation on the platform and in the press. Remember that we have very powerful enemies who try their best to mislead the nation and we can only hope to meet them by creating a powerful body of opinion in our favour among the people who have been so recently emancipated and whose sympathy must always be with those who are only claiming the ordinary rights of British citizenship. This task is now discharged by the British Committee in London whose services however have not received that recognition or support which is undoubtedly due to them. Our friends in England have been unremitting in their exertions and if we have escaped more rigorous repressive measures we owe it to them and to them alone. They have not only laboured to promote our welfare but have spent their own money for us; and I am not using the language of exaggeration when

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I say that they have poured out money like water in our cause.

I do not deny that we must rely on our own right hand to build up our national strength but the only power, that can control the bureaucracy now is to be found in England. Depend upon it political agitation in England is not a mere waste of energy and of money. It is sure to improve the system of administration and to galvanize it into new life. Measures like free primary education, for instance, will appeal readily to the sympathies of the English people and will be forced on the bureaucracy who, if left to themselves, would put it off indefinitely ; for they have studied one art in perfection, the art of writing minutes and of not doing any thing. Then again the exposure of official wrong-doing is sure to have a sobering effect on the bureaucracy. Agitation therefore in England must be carried on actively and persistently, not apathetically or intermittently, and I would specially recommend this question to the attention of the Congress. But we must work with courage and determination without expecting immediate results and confidently leave the issue to time. Above all we must try to win back the confidence of the English nation which has been forfeited by the wild utterances of some irresponsible agitators and the lies and calumnies industriously spread by those who hate the people and would keep them in a state of perpetual tutelage. It is these men who led Mr. Morley and the Indian Government to believe that there was real danger of a conflagration which we know never existed. It is these men who have deterred a liberal Government from making any substantial concessions. It is these men who have induced the English people to distrust not only our loyalty but also our competency to manage our own affairs.

I repeat that though our progress may be slow we must not lose heart ;—no not even if the dial is set back for such things are inevitable in the course of human affairs. But depend upon it, unless history is a record of lies, Englishmen love freedom as their most cherished possession ; but do not forget that the freedom they love is freedom broadening slowly from precedent to precedent. I repeat that our object can only be achieved by constitutional

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agitation and not by leaving Government severely alone. Visions may be sublime but they are not real ; and a universal boycott which would make administration impossible seems to be the figment of a disordered imagination. Privileges have to be manfully fought for and it would be puerile to turn away from the struggle, simply because our first attempts are not crowned by tangible immediate results. For my part I have never despaired and I refuse to despair and I call upon you to fight for your rights resolved not to be beaten, not knowing when you are beaten and you will not be beaten. To doubt it is to doubt the justice of our cause ; to doubt it is to doubt our courage and the strength of our combination. To doubt it is to doubt the honesty and sincerity of a great people who are bound by every obligation of duty to redeem their pledges. To doubt it is to doubt the irresistible force of moral power in the affairs of the nations. We may be baffled for a time, our efforts may be abortive, but I have faith in the justice of our cause, faith in your patriotism, faith in the English nation and faith in the sword of the avenging angel. Let us then work not in sorrow nor in despondency but in joyful assurance and in the sure trust that our cause shall triumph and our country shall have her right place in the Federation of the Empire.

OCCASIONAL STORIES

TOO LATE

A STORY OF THE RUNG MEHAL

I

Like most people of humbler pretensions the Great Shah Jehan had a family. But unlike most others his family delighted in a variety and contrast of characters that would be delightful but for the awkward way in which it sometimes showed itself. Nowhere was the contrast so marked as in the characters of Jehanara and Roushenara, the beautiful daughters of Mumtaz Mehal.

Jehanara was the great Emperor's eldest born and all the budding loves of the youthful and lovely parents had been showered in abundance on her. Mumtaz felt a warmth run up to her heart and rush through her limbs as she clasped her first child to her bosom in the wild ecstasy of the bashful maternity of first youth. Shah Jehan, as yet but Prince Khurm, was transported far beyond the delights of the prospective Moghul throne in his contemplation of the heaps of beauty which to his eyes lay gathered on every feature and on each graceful lineament of his dainty little love. From that time onwards she was a dream of joy to her infatuated parents. Shah Jehan had children enow in all conscience, and in good sooth a few more than was really good for him, but for no one had he the same love that he and his beautiful wife showered on their first born.

Roushenara was younger by several years and certainly as beautiful. But neither in rank nor in the love of her parents could she claim a place within a few paces of Jehanara. If Jehanara was the practical sovereign, she was a mere princess. If Jehanara was the *Begum Saheba* she was a mere *Shahzadi*. Slighted and unfavoured, Roushenara had taken the difference very deeply to heart even when she was a child supposed to take an interest in nothing but was honest, frank and fair. From her nursery she had begun to spite her sister and by constant dwelling on the petty incidents of every day life which every day gave her proof of her father's preference for her sister, she grew up, a reserved pettish and narrow minded girl frightfully fond of tortuous ways and delighting in the darkest view of human actions and motives.

Thus while Jehanara grew up a restless frolicsome open minded girl, immensely proud and fully conscious of her place, thoughtless

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and without any regard for the feelings of any man, Roushenara grew up intensely self-conscious and intensely selfish, with a pair of sharp eyes in constant watch over the thoughts and feelings of others—only to see through them and work out her own ends.

These were the two persons that met one evening in the Khas Mehal. They were both young. Jehanara in the full bloom of youth, varnished up with the still fading glow of childishness nursed by a father's love. Roushenara was in budding youth but prematurely wise and grave. Roushenara was thinking of taking her evening bath in the open tank fed by scores of fountains in front of Khas Mehal and had therefore stepped out of her chamber into this magnificent Hall. Jehanara had finished her bath and toilette and was in the centre of a group of ladies of the Zenana admiring her new suit of clothes and ornaments the Emperor had given her to day. The costume was one of unequalled grandeur and beauty. The outer garment was made of the finest gauze of white Dacca muslin with gold spots and flowers gracefully inwoven. Through this glistened a rich embroidered Moghul chemise of a colour that looked red or green or a mixture of both according to the point from which it was viewed. All the clothes were richly embroidered in gold and the richest gems. The *Orna* was of light green silk gauze that displayed her complexion to the best advantage. Of her ornaments the most remarkable were a richly jewelled tiara with a centre piece made up of a hundred precious stones, run into one another into a chaste and brilliant design, and a pendant to a necklace in which shone in the glorious company of many brilliants the greatest piece of diamond yet found. All this the Emperor had ordered to be made for his best beloved daughter out of the finest of the gifts of the empire to its sovereign on the Naoroj day.

Jehanara was proud and happy like what she never felt before. Her eyes beamed like the diamond on her breast and a proud joy of conscious beauty thrilled through every nerve of her slight delicate frame. The entire Rung Mehal whose principal avocation was at this time to admire the very fine inlaid works all over the newly built Khas Mehal, had left this work of love to gaze at her and admire. It was increased many time over when by the merest chances he saw Roushenara lightly trip into the Hall on her way to the bath. With almost a chuckle she saw Roushenara's face grow dark and her eyebrows knit up as she looked at her sister, the cynosure of all eyes. For one moment Jehanara felt with intense satisfaction that her triumph was complete and that it had

inflicted the deepest wound in just the quarter she sought most to hurt.

Roushenara, however, recovered herself in the twinkling of an eye, and much to the chagrin of the discontented Jehanara she smiled. "Is this your new dress, sister," Roushenara said in the most engaging manner, "Really it's a magnificent costume."

This coldness and the assumed indifference of Roushenara was too much for Jehanara. She laughed derisively and said, "Ha, ha Roushun, here's a good girl. It is certainly like something you have got. That's your next say, isn't it?"

This cut was too cruel even for Roushenara's composure and blood rushed to her face.

"Now take this from me Roushan," Jehanara went on, "you may live for ages if you choose but you can't have a dress nor a sorry trinket that can reach within half a mile of these. I tell you, be sure of that."

Roushenara had recovered herself by this time and answered with a wonderful calmness, "Really, sister, I never thought of that, I could not surely stand by your side, could I? No! Really this diamond is a rare one." She continued with her hand on the breastpiece of Jehanara's necklace.

Jehanara snatched it away as she said, "Don't touch it! You'll spoil it, I tell you. Rare! why it hasn't got its equal. The whole of your lot put together won't fetch half the price of this single stone."

"Really" said Roushenara with an unearthly and irritating composure. "And sister, you look so lovely in all this! I think I would almost fall in love with you."

Jehanara was pleased at this compliment but was supremely uncomfortable at the thought that Roushenara should not make a most thorough and convincing exhibition of her anguish. This was the essence of her happiness, but Roushenara was too clever to permit her this final satisfaction. The upshot of the short talk that followed was that Roushenara covered up her retreat from the Khas Mehal with consummate tact and grace and all Jehanara's flings, which lacked neither point nor poison, did not succeed in drawing from her a single confession of defeat. As Roushnara therefore calmly walked up to the bath, Jehanara felt herself dying with anguish that she had not succeeded in forcing her victory home.

Jehanara rushed into her boudoir as Roushenara lightly stepped into hers, and then, both dashed themselves on their bed and refused to be consoled.

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Jehanara was chagrined most at the action of the girl who, instead of tearing her hair with agony ventured to congratulate her. About her real victory she had not the slightest doubt, but, the imp of a girl *would not* weep. That was what she did not feel bound to tolerate.

Roushenara on the other hand was stung with real anguish and the incident only posted her with greater firmness to her self-imposed task of bringing Jehanara low. She had already made a complete plan of effectually demolishing Jehanara by knocking her father down but that was, she herself felt, her childish dream. Anything more practicable she had not yet succeeded in devising ; but the event of the evening had given her furiously to think on the ways and means of attaining of all things this consummation that was wanting for the complete felicitation of the world as represented by herself. She set herself to think out a way.

II

Years had rolled over the heads of the admirable pair of sisters—Years big with great events. Their mother the far-famed Mumtaz Mehal had died and the dignity and the burden of the mistress of the Zenana had devolved on Jehanara. This had made her prouder but more dignified. It had toned down her mirth and taught her to think and above all to study mankind. Roushenara too had changed. Her spite was now more concrete and her childish dreams were the objects of anxious solicitude. The essence of her being in Rungmehal was having espionage and the fruits of this she elaborated with her brothers Morad and Aurungzeb who were usually far away. The three were in the thick of a conspiracy to upset the reign of Shah Jehan and Jehanara was aware and she often sadly pondered over the coming split in the house. One evening she threw herself on her bed exhausted and deep in thoughts of the situation.

Jehanara had not long waited in this posture when the maid closed the door behind her. As she retired a human head popped up from under her bed which presently developed into a full-blown young man.

Jehanara jumped up and almost uttered a scream. But she checked herself as the young man silently fell on his knees and beckoned silence. She then slowly composed herself to her wonted dignity and knit her brows.

“Kasim ?” she enquired.

“Yes,” returned the young man, “your slave.”

“Rash youth,” retorted the young princess “what brings you

here, do you know you have thrown your safety to the winds and risked your blessed neck in coming here."

"I know," softly said the impetuous youth, "and had I a hundred necks I would gladly risk them all for the sake of that which brings me here ; it's your beauty Princess and my love."

Kasim was one of the young noblemen of promise who were most intimately associated with the royal household from his very boyhood. He was the son of a rich Amir who had risen to his high position by his own exertions and had shared the greatest confidence of two emperors. Kasim was brought up mostly in the Palace, for he was a veritable idol of the Begums who almost wrangled with one another in adoring the fair and gifted boy, who, in his childhood, had command over such endless pranks and prattlements that he was bound to be a favourite with every mother. The Princes and Princesses had been his playmates in boyhood and to Jehanara in particular he was greatly attached—not for love, but for the pleasure of teasing her and vying with her in his command over classical poetry in which they were both fast gaining a footing.

Kasim therefore did not come as a complete stranger, though there had been a pretty long separation by Jehanara's being walled up in the zenana with the approach of her youth. Kasim had missed her company for a few days, but he too was growing and there were plenty of occupations to take up his time and attention and to all appearances, Jehanara did not leave the faintest mark on his soul in his later life.

Since the separation, however, Kasim had grown up into a blooming youth and his youthful heart had grown greatly susceptible to the charms of beauty and, it must be added to those of poetry, of love songs particularly. About a year ago he had occasion to read the first verses written by Jehanara, and was charmed by them. As days went on these verses gained in number and while Jehanara was growing famous for her compositions and was arousing a chorus of admiration amongst alumni, she was touching a tenderer chord in the heart of our youthful hero.

Kasim was a poet too. His greatest recommendations to the court were his literary talents and his poetic instincts, though in more manly spheres of life he had already made such a *début* as marked him out as one of the coming men. Jehanara wrote of love, she scanned in impetuous verses the wild thoughts of her youthful heart. She seemed to Kasim to be a woman gone mad after the quest of love. She had felt its first throbbings but did not know what they meant. She was adrift in this wide world for

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a loving heart to anchor on. Kasim conceived the bold project of answering her verses and wrote in the characteristically lofty style of his masters, encouraging the young maiden to love, not this wandering ideal love, but the love fast anchored on a loving man's heart. For so much love and so much beauty was not meant to be wasted. The beauty must be enjoyed and and so too, must love ; and beauty could be felt in its fulness only if it was viewed through eyes of loving man. So she must marry one who loved her so that her beauty might be seen in its fulness by one person, for none but one who loved her best would see the beauty in fulness.

These verses Kasim had illuminated and sent by way of present to Jehanara. Jehanara had read it and had referred to its sentiments indirectly in some of her later verses. This vastly encouraged Kasim in his love and he began to feel that Jehanara surely loved the writer of those verses.

The infatuation was almost complete when one day he had the opportunity to have a glance of Jehanara's person when she had gone on invitation to his uncle's house. From that day his desire to meet Jehanara became uncontrollable. It was easy for him to secure the services of some eunuch, the leading spirits in all harem intrigues, and through their instrumentality he found himself safely lodged under Jehanara's bed this evening. The shutting of the door by the maid was the sign for him to come out of his lurking place. He never had the slightest doubt but that he had only to announce himself as the writer of those verses to gain instant favour.

Jehanara's attitude, however, seemed to him to be inexplicable. She sharply put a stop to his somewhat eloquent and verbose professions of love and loftily said, "Khan Saheb, you have not yet made the customary courtesy."

Kasim was first disposed to take this as a joke and made a bow, half in joke, which was at variance with the customary manner.

Jehanara grew mightily offended. "Khan Saheb," she said, "You will have to pay for this rudeness ; but I do insist upon your making your obeisance just the proper way before I award the punishment."

Kasim now grasped the sober seriousness of the proposal and lost no time in complying with it. He was dumb-founded and stood in absolute silence.

"Now, would you tell me," said Jehanara, "how you came into this room?"

Kasim's manliness was put to the test and he proved equal to the occasion. He proudly pulled himself up, and looking straight to her face said, "Princess, I have been guilty of treason by intruding into the Emperor's zenana ; I did it all for love and from no improper motive. You may punish me as you choose, but you will not have a word of that from me."

There was something in the manly bearing of the noble and beautiful young man which softened the rigid coldness of Jehanara into something approaching esteem. "You seem to be brave," said the Princess, "and highly honourable in not betraying your friends, but I presume your code of honour ought to have told you that independently of any punishment, treason and rudeness to women are the two things that ought to occur last to a gentleman."

"Princess, I confess the justice of your rebuke. I have been doubly guilty, but, believe me, my heart is pure, I was blinded by love, but never in my inmost heart was there any feeling but strictly honourable."

"I accept your apology ; now will you please oblige by leaving the Fort immediately ?"

"That is impossible," said Kasim, "but I shall presently relieve you of my presence. One thing, however, I beg leave to ask you. Do you remember that in thus rudely treating me you are inflicting a lasting pain on one with whom you were at least intimate in childhood ? Do you remember that you and I grew up together under the fostering care of your sainted mother ! Are you aware that the man you are thus jilting is the same whom you appreciated as the author of *The Lines to a Maiden* ?"

Jehanara brightened up and her derisive laughter rang through Kasim's heart. "Was it you ?" she said, "Oh, I see it now. There could be no bigger fool than the man who wrote those lines." "Just wait a bit," she then said and took from one of her marble shelves a richly illuminated sheet of parchment in which was engrossed the poem of Kasim in the finest hand. The princess spat on the sheet and trampled it under her feet. When in this process it had been reduced to a shapeless mass, Jehanara threw it at the face of Kasim and said, "There, take that and clear away ; never again venture to love a princess."

Kasim was livid with rage. Jehanara had inflicted the maximum of insult on him, a treatment to which death would be much preferable. The consciousness that he was first in the wrong gave him no consolation but made him bend his rage with unrelenting severity on himself. He bit his lips and walked out of the room

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deliberately to the presence of the Tartar maid who stood guard at the door.

In truth he could possibly do very little else. The eunuchs who had brought him in had only contracted for his safe deposit in Jehanara's room and were not responsible for his escape. Kasim was then reckless of consequences and had agreed to their terms knowing full well that if anything untoward happened there was nothing for it but to be caught and hanged.

The Tartar amazon challenged him, and laid him under arrest. One of Jehanara's maids was at this time by her side and she signed to the watch-girl to wait and ran to her mistress for orders.

"Huzrut Begum Saheba," said she, "a man was just seen walking out of your Mehal. He has been arrested by the guard. Your slave waits for orders."

"Arrested! why, let him go" said Jehanara; "does the wretch dare to suspect any thing evil about me?"

"Surely Madam," said the maid, "that presumption is impossible in any of your slaves."

"Then let him go," said the Princess with some impetuosity. She was much exercised at the thought that any one could have the audacity to suspect that *she* could possibly stoop to fall in love with a wretch like Kasim. The barest thought of that insinuation which the arrest implied was insufferable to her. She therefore ordered Kasim to be set free.

"For that a warrant under Begum Saheba's hand and seal would be necessary."

Jehanara indignantly took up a piece of paper and wrote a warrant to the effect that Kasim be permitted to pass all watches unmolested on business of state. She then signed and sealed it.

The girl retired and with that warrant carried Kasim safe through the gate of Rung Mehal. After this, she knew, Kasim was perfectly safe to go where he chose.

As she was returning she retailed this story of what she considered to be Jehanara's first love intrigue to all and sundry of the Rung Mehal employes.

III

Among those who heard the story of Jehanara's maid was Julekha, Roushenara's chief maid. She instantly rushed to her mistress to tell her of the affair. Roushenara though younger was reputed in the Rung Mehal to have passed through half-a-dozen love intrigues, but one of the many matters in which Jehanara took characteristic pride was her virgin purity. This was too trying for

Roushenara's maids—this assumption of superior sanctity by their lady's rival ; and the first news of Jehanara's tripping was eagerly swallowed by them with all the embellishments that the story hourly received.

When Julekha entered the room of her mistress, Roushenara was busy making calculations for upsetting her father's dominions and installing Morad, her younger brother, in his place so that she might lord it to her heart's content over Jehanara. She seems to have had a taste for mathematics and this calculation of forces upon the materials which she was always very careful to collect was one of her most favourite occupations.

Julekha entered, panting for breath and hurriedly gasped out her story. Roushenara was delighted. Her calculations might now wait till this short-cut to her end of humiliating Jehanara was well tried. "The warrant !" She cried in ecstasy, "where is the warrant ?"

"With the gate Jemadar."

"Is it under her name and seal."

"Aye, and in her own hand, the whole of it."

"Now here's a lucky find ! Go and get me a copy of it."

The maid hurriedly walked out to do her bidding and Roushenara, checking the wild ecstasy of finding this loophole in Jehanara's fortunes began to deliberate on the procedure she was now to adopt. She was deeply engrossed in thought when a young man stepped into the room.

The youth was a little worse for drink and his footsteps were far from steady. Once in the room he tumbled into Roushenara's bed and said, "Roushun, can you give me anything to drink ? I am so thirsty."

Roushenara looked up. "Morad," she exclaimed, "why, where could you have come from."

"Just back from Rajputana and will be going somewhere else to-morrow, that's what the old one told me. It's beastly work thus being knocked about from one place to another. The old man does not know what it's like. I should much like to be rolling in case like him and order him about just the way he's doing me. Now, do just give me a drink."

"I will," said Roushenara, "but you are already bad and I can't give you any more wine till I've talked over with you on more serious topics."

"I say, give me a drink and I will be quiet like a mouse."

"No," said Roushenara sternly. "Look here here's good news. Jehanara would soon be going to Jehunnum"

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"Really," said Morad and rolled with laughter, "that's a nice joke. Would you tell me how?"

Roushenara then told him the story as she had heard from her maid. "The Emperor is sure," she added, to cut her dead if he hears of this. But, leave that to me. What about your affairs?"

"Nothing particular," said Morad, "Aurungzeb has been increasing the resources and I am taking every opportunity to augment the army under me. I think we shall be in a condition to strike two years hence."

"Fool," said his sister, "by that time Dara would secure himself on the throne and trample you to death. You don't know how much of an imbecile the old one has become. Since mother's death he has given himself up entirely to Dara and Jehanara, and his sole pleasure is to build that mausoleum over there. If you don't kick him down next year you'll be nowhere. You know Shuja is in Bengal and in great strength."

"I know, I know," said Morad foolishly, "but I don't know what to do. I shall see Aurungzeb and tell you."

Just then Julekha arrived with a copy of Jehanara's *purwana*. The brother and sister simply gloated over it. After this the two spent some time in anxious consultation about future plans, till Roushenara found that he was growing too unsettled for serious work. She then ordered some wine and placed it before her brother and herself left the room.

IV

She repaired to the Emperor's dainty tower where he was spending his waking night with eyes fixed on the moon-lit Taj Mehal which was about half-finished. As Roushenara approached him Shah Jehan asked, "what brings my daughter here at this unusual hour."

"To serve you, dear father. Since my poor mother died, I have not had the privilege to look after you."

Shah Jehan looked sharp. He was always suspicious of his younger daughter and this put him on the scent of some object.

"Your Majesty does not look well," continued Roushenara.

"Yes, I am indifferently well," said Shah Jehan evasively, "Are things going on well in the Rung Mehal? Since your mother's death I have not had the opportunity to look after its affairs myself, you know." The Emperor looked slyly at his daughter.

"My father, I don't know what to tell you of that. My saintly mother is gone, and now we have to look at things I dare not

mention to your Majesty. When the mistress herself is tripping it is not likely that others should be any better."

"You don't mean to say Jehanara is going wrong."

"It is a most painful thing to say of one's sister but to see the daughter of yourself and our saintly mother take the path of shame is more painful still. Her misbehaviour has become notorious and her name dragged in the mire. Only now, as I was coming to your Majesty, I heard a row at the gate and heard that a man was caught coming out of Jehanara's rooms and had only been set free under her *purwana*. I cannot swear that there was anything the matter with the man but the general impression is—"

"But who told you all this," the Emperor interposed.

"My maid told me the story but I rebuked her severely, on which she gave me this copy of the *purwana*." She handed over the copy to the Emperor.

The Emperor's face grew red as he looked upon the paper. "I am much agitated," he told Roushenara and ordered her away.

The shrewd monarch then began his investigation and before the night was over he had positive proof that Kasim had been to Jehanara's chamber and had had a long interview with her. In fact the *purwana* itself, written in Jehanara's dainty hand recited that Kasim had come to Jehanara 'on business of State.' The story of Kasim's love and his verses was also before him the next day.

The old Emperor was deeply mortified at the discovery. He was himself rigidly virtuous in respect of sexual morality and it was one of the points in which he was absolutely unbending. His faith in his daughter's purity was great. He was therefore deeply pained to find her tripping. There was another matter—a failing in his character which made the pain greater still. He doted on his child and Jehanara reciprocated the love. She was proud and overbearing, cruel and regardless of other people's feelings but to her father she was the tenderest of women. She had great intelligence and in affairs of State Shah Jehan often preferred her adviser to that of Dara. Now, after the death of the much beloved Mumtaz, Shah Jehan had doted on his daughter all the more. His sons he did not love and could not trust. Roushenara's sneaking and intriguing character repelled him and Jehanara became to him the sole object of his love and he had fondly hoped to live on her love for the rest of his life. It was selfish on his part, but his great ambition was to be the everything to his daughter as much as he was to Mumtaz. The supposed love of Jehanara for Kasim therefore made him miserable. He felt that Jehanara was not content with

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a father's love, and craved for something more. He felt himself forsaken and forlorn.

But he was an Emperor and had all the temper of one. He would not take the slight lying down and must have grim revenge on his daughter in a manner most approved by Moghul Emperors. The young man was to die, not by the hangman's hand, for that would give the death an undesirable publicity, but by poison and Jehanara would know that he so died.

V

Prince Dara Shukoh the heir apparent to the throne was a prince of the truest royal mould. With a genuine catholicity of temper he combined a marvellous breadth of views and wideness of outlook which marked him out as a great ruler of men. But he had not the strength nor the tortuous diplomacy that was indispensable to work out your way to greatness in those days. He had a fine presence with soft luxurious eyes and a tender expression that was not loth to pleasure and the good things of life.

Of all men Dara Shukoh was the person with whom Jehanara was in some sympathy. Not only were they both in the secrets of the State, the one as the vicegerent of the Emperor and the other as his confidential advisor, but there was a great deal of sympathy between them on the score of literary tastes too. Dara Shukoh was profoundly learned, notably in Arabic and Sanskrit and Jehanara was equally well up in Persian poetry, in Moslem religious lore, and many and pleasant were the conversations they would have with each other on high literary topics which were a sealed book to the rest of the harem.

One morning after these incidents Dara Shukoh went, as was his wont, to his sister's rooms on the way to the Durbar. Jehanara had just returned from her prayers in the Nagina Masjid. Her first words to Dara were by way of rebuke. "You haven't been to the prayers, I am sure. It's too bad of you Dara," said she.

"If a man pray, would he be immortal, let me ask you in the strain of the Upanishads, for nothing that does not make man immortal is worth pursuit," Dara smilingly replied.

"You are always talking in riddles. I am afraid, your study of infidel philosophy is doing you no good."

"Isn't it? Perhaps it isn't, but I haven't come to talk about that to-day. I have come on a grave business which requires your advice and support."

He then talked about the general outlook. He was daily

receiving indications of the hostility of Shuja and Morad, aided by Aurungzeb, to his claims to the throne. Shuja was powerful in Bengal, but Bengal was far away and that counted for something. Morad did not matter, but it was Aurungzeb, the *Nemassi* or 'prayerful' as Dara called him, that he feared most. At present he was showing great partiality for Morad, but Dara had absolutely no faith in his professions.

"I could have managed all of them," said Dara, "if I could count upon my father but he is vacillating and I am dubious about his real intentions. He has taken every step to develop the strength of my brothers, by putting them in charge of provinces. But I have been kept at the capital with a show of authority which I cannot exercise to suppress my enemies. Times without number I have brought to my father's notice the many overt acts obviously planned to depose him and usurp the throne; I have repeatedly asked him to nip the conspiracies of Murad and Shuja in the bud by removing them from their Subahs and putting them under surveillance. With all evidences before him the old man has repeatedly withheld me from clipping their power. I do not know what he means by all this."

"Perhaps you are mistaken Dara," said Jehanara, "and, when all is said and done, it may be only tenderness for his sons that stays his hand."

"I don't know what it is, but this is sure that two years hence both Morad and Shuja would be so powerful that each would be more than a match for me. Then there could be no more talk about clipping their wings. Circumstances are fast drifting to a critical situation."

"Very well, but what would you do?"

"I see nothing for it but to assert myself. If father is willing to assist me, well and good, if not, I don't see how I could do anything but throw him into prison and ascend the throne. Nothing but this can protect my interests."

"Dara, don't be talking nonsense. You forget that you are his son, and you forget all the favours he has shown you."

"I don't know much of that, but I feel that he is not quite frank with me. His attitude is not quite agreeable to my future prospects."

Jehanara grew grave. "Is it in this that you desired my sympathy and support?"

"Yes, sister," returned Dara, "if only you support me, I am sure I shall be successful. I don't mean any mischief to my father,

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but if he really does stand in my way, he will have to be gently pushed aside. He does not know his own interests or he would not refuse to reduce the powers of his rebellious sons who, if successful, are sure to kill him."

Sternly Jehanara answered, "Dara Shukoh, be sure that you will not have my support in any plans against my father. Know this that to any one who goes against the Emperor I am a sworn enemy. Begone, I cannot talk to you any longer." •

Dara left her room mightily offended. Shortly afterwards Roushenara stepped into it with a very long face and gloomy looks.

"Roushenara," said Jehanara with concern, "what is the matter?"

"I am ashamed to tell you sister. The Emperor has commissioned me to tell you a most disagreeable news. He has been credibly informed that one Kasim had been courting you for some time and was seen with you in your rooms at least one of these nights. This story has got abroad and everybody is crying shame. For thus venturing to contaminate the Emperor's daughter, Kasim is to die to-day. In to-day's Durbar the Emperor will give him the poisoned betel of which he is to die."

Jehanara was staggered. She did not almost know what she felt. The turn events had taken was beyond her wildest dreams. To think that she should be associated with such mean intrigue, that her good name should be dragged into the mire over a base lie was enough to make her furious. That her father should believe this lie was insufferable and that he should send Roushenara to speak of his displeasure to her was the last disgrace she could think of. She felt herself most undeservedly humiliated and her anger were equal to her humiliation. She did not speak.

Roushenara went away and Jehanara threw herself on her bed, oppressed by an onrush of the most acute and agonising thoughts. Her innate pride suggested to her one revenge. She would strike her father as he has struck her. She must marry Kasim by hook or by crook and her father must stand a passive and powerless witness to the ceremony. This was the sweetest revenge she could think of and she set herself to thinking about it. As she was painfully thinking of her great humiliation and how she could best repay it, the figure of Kasim slowly and unconsciously pressed itself on her attention. She remembered his noble and manly bearing and his courageous surrender to the warder. She also remembered his face, full of the noblest emotion, his warm avowal of love and her own infamous treatment of him.

The whole thing filled her with painful memories not unmixed with a tender regard for Kasim which his presence had failed to inspire. The thought that he would die to-day within an hour or so greatly oppressed her soul. Was he to blame? What had he done? He had been inspired by no feelings but the most honourable and in the impetuosity of his love for her had forgotten to take care of his own safety. Now, he was going to die, and all for loving her.

Jehanara felt oppressed with a sense of guilt and felt that she was the cause of the mournful fate of that promising young nobleman. She recalled her associations with him in childhood and recounted his many towering abilities of which she had often heard. She felt a compunction in her heart and an overpowering compassion for the young man—a state of feeling which psychologists know to be the next stage to love.

She felt most uncomfortable. Yet she did not know what to do. Something within her told her that Kasim must be saved. And she must marry Kasim though she did not know how. For sometime she fruitlessly fidgetted about till at last she thought of recalling Dara. There was not one moment to be lost; for the Emperor would be going to the Durbar in one hour more, and the distribution of *pan* and *atar* in course of which the poisoned betel would be given was the first function of the Durbar. She therefore sent for Dara immediately and in the interim was thoroughly miserable.

When Dara arrived, her eyes were wet with tears and burning with anguish. At his sight Jehanara burst out into sobs. She caught hold of Dara's hands and imploringly said, "Brother, I have been rude to you, forgive me I shall be rude no more."

Dara had never seen Jehanara so humble. He was therefore greatly surprised at this unwonted exhibition of feeling and asked, "what is the matter, sister?"

"Dara," she said, "I have been outrageously insulted. I am dying for shame. An infamous lie has been circulated against me," and amidst a flood of tears she told the whole story to Dara and imported her good offices to save Kasim.

"I am miserable, my heart is bursting for revenge. The only one that can sting my persecutors most is to save the young man and marry him. You know how my father abhors the idea of my marriage and with a nobody I will do it. Will you help me?"

Dara clasped her hand. "Most willingly dear sister," said he, "but would you then help me too in my mission?"

"Without the slightest scruple" returned Jehanara. Dara then

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retired to the Durbar. He was just in time and very shortly after his arrival, the Emperor graced the Durbar with his presence.

V

On his arrival at the Durbar, Dara walked up to Kasim and whispered something into his ear. Just as he returned to his place, the door behind the Jharaka was thrown open and the *nakib* shouted out the arrival of the Emperor. Next moment the Emperor made his appearance. The whole audience stood up and shouted applause.

After sitting on his throne the Emperor distributed *pan* and *atar*; the *amirs* of the Realm one by one stepped to the foot of the throne according to their respective positions. A slave held a tray full of fragrant betels covered over with gold leaf. As each nobleman made his bow the Emperor gave him one of those betels and held out the scent-case to dip his hand in.

One by one the great Amirs passed by and those next in order followed. In the third rank was Kasim. The Emperor faltered for one moment and then handed over to him the poisoned betel which Kasim took with a very low bow. The eyes of the Emperor eagerly followed him to his seat and turned away with satisfaction when he saw Kasim chewing the betel.

After this ceremonial, the business of state began. Presently Kasim felt indisposed and in a few minutes fell senseless on the floor. On a sign from Dara some domestics removed Kasim from the place. As he looked upon the hanging head and the dangling hands of the victim, a wave of joy passed over Shah Jehan's face.

In the state business proper that followed, Shah Jehan did not take any great part. He shortly walked away into the inside of the Palace and on to the river where the royal barge was in readiness to convey him to the site of the Taj that was being built up.

Dara then took his place and transacted some public business. While so engaged, a messenger brought him a letter which seemed to thoroughly upset him. He dissolved the Durbar and retired to the Dewan-i-Khas where he held a most secret meeting of his trusted ministers and advisers.

Two days later Dara started out at the head of an army westward, but no one knew where. He marched in a hurry and in the bustle of preparations he had not time enough to see Jehanara till the last moment. When just starting, he dropped into Jehanara's room, only to find that she was away on a visit to a nobleman's family. He could not possibly wait. He just scratched the following lines on a piece of paper :

"Dear Sister,

I am out on my game. Remember your promise.

Dara"

This he left with Jehanara's maid and himself left Agra immediately.

When Jehanara came back she found that her brother was gone. The chit that he had left did not enlighten her on the only thing she thirsted to know from her brother. She was in a state of most anxious suspense and was angry with everybody and everything for having missed seeing Dara.

As she was fidgetting about in the terrace unable to compose herself, a maid slowly approached her and made an obeisance.

Jehanara jumped at her "What's thy news?" she asked her in a fury of eagerness. It was the woman she had despatched to get the true news of Kasim.

"I heard that Kasim Khan was dead. He was taken ill after taking a betel at the Durbar and died the same evening within the Fort. At his house he has not been seen since he came out to the Durbar."

Jehanara fixed a vacant stare on the maid and stood fixed to her post. She was positively stunned and for one moment all sensibility seemed to desert her. The next moment she fell senseless on the arms of her maid.

(To be continued)

Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta

REVIEWS & NOTICES

ANANDAMATHA

[*The Abbey of Bliss*: A Translation of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Ananda Math*—by NARES CHANDRA SEN GUPTA, Vakil, High Court, Calcutta. (Calcutta: Padmini Mohan Neogi: 121 Dhurumtolla Street.)]

Mr. NARES CHANDRA SEN GUPTA is a brilliant writer who has earned a name for thoughtfulness and incisive writing. His frequent contributions to the *Indian World* on a variety of subjects which are engaging public attention show unmistakably that he will make his mark in public life, and, if God spares him, be a leader of our public movements one day. Mr. NARES CHANDRA undertook the translation of Bankim Chandra's *Ananda Matha* "in view of the noble lessons in patriotism that he has given us." That the book under notice can not but stimulate one's love of the Motherland will be the opinion of every reader of it. That a work which produces such an effect is very timely just at present, will be equally admitted. It is that non-Bengali Indians may have an opportunity of deriving inspiration from it that Mr. NARES CHANDRA, who has the welfare of India deeply at heart, has translated the book. There can be no two opinions that the translation has been done very well. As one reads it one does not remember that it is a translation at all. Mr. NARES CHANDRA has added a critical Prefatory Note which does justice to the text: it does not ignore the weak points in it, it deals with the author tenderly and respectfully yet with strict fairness, and altogether it is instructive to peruse. We congratulate Mr. NARES CHANDRA on the eminent success of his undertaking.

The novel treats, as a novel does and not as history, of the Sanyasi Rebellion of Northern Bengal, which took place about the time of Warren Hastings. A number of men turned Sanyasis and banded themselves under the name of *The Children* with the object of annihilating Moslem rule in Bengal. These men took severe vows, one that they would give up wives and children and not sit on the same seat with women till they achieved their object. They frankly acted on the principle that the end justified the means, and every sort of lawlessness and roguery was resorted to by them if they thought that thereby they would gain their object. They

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BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

selected one man as leader from among themselves, and him they implicitly obeyed. At last they succeeded so far in their object as to put an end to the Mussulman *regime* but did not succeed in establishing *Swaraj* (a term which has become famous). And fittingly may we employ this term here, as the singing and shouting of *Bande Mataram* which are such constant accompaniments or features of the *Swaraj* campaign is taken from the work under notice where Bankim Chandra first wrote it. *The Children* found to their chagrin that their mission had to end with the advent of the British Raj in place of the Moslem. Bankim Chandra's denunciation of the latter as well as praise of the former is perhaps overdone : at all events the praise is. No one, not an idiot or a lunatic, denies that peace rules where for certain periods there was anarchy, nor that other benefits have accrued from British rule which were not associated in the people's mind with Moslem rule. But to affect that British rule has only a bright side is neither truth nor patriotism. All foreign rule is inherently vicious, and British rule in India is no exception to the rule. But if the people are unfit to enjoy absolute *Swaraj* without the control of some foreign government, for whatever reasons it might be, if the acquirements of self-government can only follow the eradication of social and moral evils which are antecedent to and paved the way for British rule, it is not patriotism to cry for absolute *Swaraj* and come into conflict with law and authority at every step, but to accept the logic of facts, to make the best of the existing situation, to preserve jealously and tenaciously the privileges we now enjoy by not abusing them, to labour for the removal of those social and moral evils which made foreign rule possible and render its continuance necessary and to build up the strength of the nation so as to make emancipation easy for succeeding generations.

Two glaring defects of the work Mr. NARES CHANDRA unerringly lays his fingers on. They are Bankim Chandra's provincialism and sectarianism which pervade the whole work. Bankim Chandra's Motherland is Bengal, his nation is the Hindu nation. Neither of these conceptions answers the purpose to-day. Bengalees must feel that they are Bengalees only after being Indians ; Hindus must feel that they are Indians as much as their fellow-countrymen, the Mahomedans, and Hindus afterwards. "Intellectually," says Mr. NARES CHANDRA, "he may have been a citizen of India and member of the Indian nation but in his inmost heart was the sentiment of an intensely exclusive Bengali Hindu." We fear we have to say that a strong and even narrow provincialism is a

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conspicuous feature of Bengali public life. For the last two years the welkin has rung with cries of "the Bengali nation" and "Bengal our motherland"—strange words from Bengalees who talk the most, on other occasions, of the Indian nation and India our mother country. After all, the National Congress and Social Conference notwithstanding, it is too true that when we scratch an Indian we find the provincial man. Inter-provincial sympathy is at the bottom of the sentiment of Indian nationality, but what we have at present is a great deal of inter-provincial jealousy with a greater deal of talk and writing about inter-provincial sympathy. We are persuaded after mature deliberation that the most powerful and unfailing means of making inter-provincial sympathy a reality is inter-provincial marriages. There is any amount of anti-Mahomedan sentiment in the novel which is so very mischief-breeding that Mr. NARES CHANDRA was "led to think thrice before placing the work before a larger public by translation." We join in the hope expressed by Mr. NARES CHANDRA that both Hindus and Mussulmans will "agree to forgive our author's aberrations in this respect in view of the noble lessons in patriotism that he has given us." Let us all severely ignore these two defects in the book, and learn the great qualities of *The Children*, "their earnestness and singleness of purpose, their tenacity and resourcefulness, and their courage in facing the immense odds that are arrayed against them." With peculiar propriety may we say in concluding this brief notice of *Ananda Math—Bande Mataram* !

C. Y. Chintamani

PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

Bombay

The promptitude, and perfectness with which the sober and enthusiastic citizens of Surat have pushed on the arrangements of the National Congress in the interval of a single month forms a striking contrast to the shameful spectacle of strife and rowdyism owing to which the champions of new-born Extremism in Nagpur could not advance its work by a single step in the course of eleven months. The time was woefully limited. The wire-pullers of the Deccan had attempted to create dissensions in the body of workers. Not being a Presidency-town Surat has to import everything from Bombay. Still, the public-spirited citizens of Surat have cheerfully accepted the task of coming to the rescue of Nagpur without asking for contribution from any external source, especially after the immense strain of a successful session of the Provincial Conference in the last Easter holidays. The moral is quite obvious. While red Extremism can only destroy, sober, level-headed and well-balanced patriotism can construct with energy and enthusiasm.

Besides the Congress, Surat gives enough of occupation for the Christmas week. The Industrial Conference meets there under the Presidentship of Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal, the retired Chief Judge of Gaekwar's State, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Ahmedabad Congress and the owner of some Cotton Mills and a big colliery in Bengal. The Secretaries have laid a very practical programme for deliberation and its industrious Secretary, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, has been in Surat for some time now. The Social Conference also has assumed a practical turn by electing as its President Rao Bahadur Lalshunker Umiashunker, a retired subordinate Judge, whose energetic and continued efforts for the social amelioration of the people of Guzerat have been the mainspring of social activity in the Province. The Temperance Conference will be honoured by the association of Mr. Narendranath Sen in the chair, which would bring honour and dignity to any assemblage. Another Bengali veteran, Mr. Satyendranath Tagore, the direct descendent of the Maharshi, will grace the Theistic Conference, and guide its deliberations along practical channels in consonance with

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the spirit of Hindu Theism. It will appear, therefore, that Bengal and Guzerat divide the presidential honours among themselves.

Rumours are being circulated that the Extremists party are going to put forward their best efforts to "capture" the Congress in order to wreck it. The office of President and the programme of the congress are two important factors towards this end. After the determination of the All-India Congress Committee to remove the Congress to Surat, a *locus penitentiae* was sought by the Nagpur Extremists and was granted by the Bombay representatives ; but the negotiation again failed, and the attempt to put Mr. Tilak in the chair was failed once more. Then, the game of creating a schism over the unauthorised candidature of Lala Lajpat Rai was carried so far that more than ordinary efforts were needed to preserve the grace of unanimity over the election of Dr. Ghosh. The technical objection, that notices of the meeting of Reception Committee reached some members in the Deccan late, cannot be heard when the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who cared to attend, could come from Poona many hours before the meeting. The *Kesari* and Journals of that ilk have been carrying out a veritable crusade for several weeks past pushing the unauthenticated claims to the chair, and suggest as a remedy that the President-elect should be put in an awkward position by numerous wires being sent to him to resign in favour of the great Lala. Considerable canvassing has been going on with a view to return the limited Subjects-Committee of hundred elected members by the delegates, with a majority of extreme views in politics. The Lala is openly requested in leading articles not to attend the Sessions, owing to the supposed insult of passing him over in the Presidential election of the Congress. Nay, open incitements to disorder and confusion is made to repeat the disgraceful scenes of the Benares and Calcutta Sessions. The gospel of rowdyism is discredited in Bengal. In Punjab, it was nipped in the bud. In Madras, it could not take root. In Bombay, it is struggling to obtain a footing, and will meet its retribution, unless its apostles take heed in time. The way to *Swaraj* cannot be through bickerings, disorder and hooliganism, but only through the moral strength of unity, patriotism, and sacrifice.

The policy of plague-administration, which has settled down since the last two years, has received impetus from the vigorous and sympathetic efforts of our present Governor, Sir George Clarke. As in other provinces, the administration endeavoured to "stamp out" the plague by "re-

Tactics of so-called Extremists

Plague Policy in Bombay

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BOMBAY)

pressive measures" and a campaign costing several lacs only in one city of Bombay with a dictatorial committee exercising something like martial authority was started to do battle with the plague-bacillus. The futility of the efforts and the extreme exasperation to which they led, have brought back faith in voluntary segregation and inoculation. The new Governor has addressed a personal letter to the people to co-operate with the State in helping the poor classes to segregate themselves and to inspire greater confidence in inoculation as the only remedy which the State can adopt on a large scale. This little act of the Governor, the personal exertions of the members of the Executive Council and the free grant made to Municipal and local bodies for facilitating evacuation and spreading inoculation are hopeful signs that until Science places within our reach a more definite and reliable remedy, the plague-policy will be of a settled and uniform character.

The Factory Commission is nearing the end of their labours in this Presidency. After finishing their work in Ahmedabad and Broach, they settled down to work in right earnest and have examined numerous witnesses, both official and non-official, engaged in the commercial or technical aspects of mill-management. They have visited several mills besides. They have applied their minds to the health, sanitation, education, housing and subsistence of the labouring classes in Bombay, the largest centre of industrialism in India. There appears to be general unanimity among the witnesses that the work of women and children should be considerably restricted, and the latter prevented from joining a factory up to a certain age-limit. As to hours of adult-labour, there is not a consensus of opinion though the variation is between a narrow margin of 10 to 13 hours a day. It appears that the average of 12 hours will be fixed upon as a compromise. It would be highly regrettable if the mill-owners themselves cannot restrict the hours of labour for the sake of sheer humanity, without the interference of the State. That some reform is badly needed to arrest the increasing physical deterioration of our labouring population is admitted on all hands. If it is impossible to help ourselves without State-intervention, then why talk of *Swarnj* at all?

The strong and independent attitude of the Bombay Municipal Corporation has always been a source of bitterness and exasperation to the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy. Bombay retained her own time when, at the bidding of Lord Curzon, the whole of India consented

The Government
and Bombay
Municipal Cor-
poration

to adopt an artificial standard. In their financial arrangements with the State in educational or police charges, the Corporation has ever maintained its high civic dignity and independence. The caucus which tried to dilute the personnel of the body, was an attempt to make it more slavish to the authority of the State ; but it did not succeed in its object. Two years ago, when the Prince of Wales visited the city and a reception was arranged at the pier, the Chairman of the Corporation was assigned a lower rank than the other dignitaries ; and it was only when the Corporation threatened to withhold their address that the authorities yielded. Similarly, when the Government requested the Corporation to submit their opinions about the celebrated proposed reforms of Mr. Morley, the letter was addressed, not to the President, but to the Municipal Commissioner who passed it on to the Corporation as part of the general business. Sir P. M. Mehta rightly insisted that unless the proposal was officially received by the Corporation, there was no proposal at all, and the Corporation should not offer any opinion on the subject. However, the majority thought that the insult ought to be pocketed and the request acceded to. This is a bad precedent which may prove harmful in the long run.

It is our good fortune that every year some leading members of Parliament make it their business to attend the Sessions of the Congress and to see the state of affairs in India with their own eyes. Dr. Rutherford is one of them and he is one of the best specimens of the democratic leaders of modern England. He was given an afternoon entertainment by the Presidency Association and then a small dinner was held in his honour. Dr. Rutherford spoke warmly of the love the Socialistic party bore to this country but was helpless to do any effectual good to India until his party was stronger in the House of Commons. His stay will be brief on this occasion, and he will sail immediately after the Congress is over. He, however, promises to renew his visit next year. He will be remembered as one of those active M. P's who were prominent in heckling Mr. Morley in Parliament in regard to the recent deportation episodes.

D. G. D.

MADRAS

The principal event of the month was the sittings of the Decentralisation Commission which commenced its labours here. The Commission took Madras unawares as it were as hardly any notice was given to intending witnesses. Mr. Hobhouse, the Chairman of the Commission, in a way apologised for this unfair treatment of Madras in his opening speech on the first day. That speech gave offence to the Allahabad paper because, I suppose, it was marked by refreshing independence. More than 40 witnesses—Indian and European official and non-official—were examined by the Commission at Madras itself and at Rajahmundry, and much valuable evidence along with some that we could have spared, was given before it. Most of the high officers of Government belonging to every department and most of our leading publicmen gave evidence. It was exhaustive and the examination of witnesses was searching and thorough-going. The official witnesses more or less contented themselves with pleading for enlarged powers for their several departments and were not, as a rule, disposed favourably to an extension of powers of local boards and municipal councils or the creation of advisory councils in districts. And the memorandum submitted to the Commission in the name of the Madras Government was, most curiously, silent on these important points. On the Indian and non-official side, remarkable and valuable evidence was given by, among others, Dewan Bahadur R. Raghoonath Rao, Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu, Rao Bahadur M. Adinarayana Iyah, Mr. V. Krishna Swami Iyer, Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratnam Mudalier and Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer. Among our veteran publicmen, I wonder why Rai Bahadur P. Anandacharlu and Mr. G. Subramania Iyer did not choose to give evidence. Perhaps the latter, who had gone to London ten years ago to give evidence before the Welby Commission, has ceased to have faith in these Commissions and possibly does not think it consistent with his dignity as a Nationalist leader to appear before official commissions in the role of a suppliant for favours or a 'mendicant' to quote the approved word.

It is not expected that the chronicler of events who writes in these pages should summarise the large body of evidence that was tendered before the Commission.

But I may invite attention to a few points that come out in bold relief from it. One point is that it seems to be generally felt that the financial powers of the Provincial Government must be increased but not its general administrative powers. In regard

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to District officers and heads of departments the suggestions made are mostly that there should be less of unnecessary correspondence but not that they should be made more free from control by the Government. Then the proposal to curtail the right of appeal in administrative and personal matters is not viewed with any degree of favour. It is urged that Municipalities and Local Boards should be invested with more real power, particularly in financial matters, that there should be a relaxation of official control, and that they should be helped more liberally and systematically with subventions by the Government. The creation of District Advisory Councils and the revival of village panchayets have been almost unanimously advocated by the Indian witnesses. Messrs. Vijiaraghavachary and Krishnaswami Iyer plainly told the Commission that unless Indians were appointed to high offices like a membership of the Executive Council and of the Board of Revenue and unless Englishmen ceased to look down upon Indians as belonging to an inferior race, no improvement in their relations could be looked for whatever might be the extent and depth of knowledge of vernaculars of the European officials and howsoever infrequently they were transferred from station to station.

The Government of Sir Arthur Lawley have published their proposals for the reform and expansion of the local
Council Reform in Madras. Legislative Council, and I must congratulate His Excellency as well as the real author—whoever he might be—out of whose fertile brain the scheme emanated—on the wonderful ingenuity of which it is the outcome. I welcome it because, as the *Indian Social Reformer* has said, it is a *reductio ad absurdum* the Government of India's 'reforms.' It carries out to their severely logical conclusion the principles enunciated by the Government of India and exposes their untenable, reactionary and mischievous character in all its nakedness. If the intentions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State are all that they are proclaimed to be and if there is a modicum of good sense and statesmanship at the headquarters of Government, the scheme seriously put forward by Sir Arthur Lawley's Government must lead to the purging of the Government of India's proposals of their vicious features more certainly than all the destructive criticism hurled at them from the press. I hasten to state briefly the essential features of Madras scheme. It is that one seat shall be given to Brahmans, one to Mahomedans, one to Christians, one to lawyers, one to merchants, one to Zemindars, one to the University, one to the Chamber of Commerce, one to the city of Madras, etc., and the

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rest to be nominated by the Government. I have only one criticism to make on this scheme, and it is that it must be made more perfect and complete by one seat being given to Kshatriyas, one to Vaisyas, one to Sudras, one to Panchamas, one to carpenters, one to blacksmiths, one to weavers, one to leather merchants, and so on. But well begun is half done as the old saw goes, and I am not without hope that Sir Arthur Lawley and Messrs. Gabriel Stokes and George Stuart Forbes, who are the worthy gentlemen forming the Government of Madras, will do the right thing in the right way by favourably considering the humble suggestions of your Madras chronicler.

The principal business at the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council was to answer the interpellations of Hon'ble non-official members. The members of the Madras Council enjoy a hard-earned reputation as the most searching and persistent interpellators of all non-official members of Councils anywhere in India. It is nothing but creditable to them that they should take so much pains to acquaint themselves with the grievances of their numerous constituents and the real position of affairs in the extensive region each one of them represents. But it must be confessed that the number of questions asked at a single meeting of the Council is rather too large and may profitably be reduced. I do not suggest that the mere feeling that too many questions should not be asked should come in the way of attention being drawn to real important matters. But I do not think after going through the sixty or more questions asked at the last meeting of the Council that their number could have been curtailed without loss to public interests. To ask for information which is already available in published reports of Government, to ask the Government solemnly to declare whether known and admitted facts are true for almost all the members to repeat almost identical questions in a slightly altered phraseology—all this might surely be avoided. As it is, the official members of the Council seem to get disgusted with the number, ponderosity and verbosity and even superfluity of the questions, and make it a point of returning curt, oracular and sometimes unmeaning answers. Of course they are wrong in doing so, but why should even a semblance of justification be given to their altogether undesirable attitude? We have to understand our exact position and use every right and privilege that we enjoy in a manner that will commend itself even to those who were originally opposed to the concession of that right and whose views on public questions do not generally

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accord with ours. All said and done, however, the real cause of the interpellations being so many and so tiresomely lengthy is that the meetings of the Council are held at such distant intervals of one another. A provision must be made in the scheme of reform which is before the public that the Council should be called at least once in three months.

The Questions on Important Subjects. With your permission, Mr. Editor, I desire to call attention to two important sets of questions out of the many asked at the meeting. One set of questions, repeated in slightly different forms by almost every member but most searchingly put by the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma was about the recent 'unrest' in the Godavari district. The Government have so far become repentant in the matter of the imposition of punitive police on Cocanada that they have reduced the period of this from two years to six months. This period has expired during the current month. I may, therefore dismiss this subject with the brief comment that the punitive police should never have been quartered at all at Cocanada. The Government have also vouchsafed the information that an explanation of his conduct submitted by Capatian Kemp, the real disturber of the King's peace, is at present under their consideration. Meanwhile the gallant medical captain has been transferred from Cocanada. I have a shrewd suspicion that no more will be heard of the affair ; have not the Governments of the two Bengals actually given a lift to officers who have been judicially censured for their high-handed actions? In regard to the Rajahmundry students the Government have declined to take a less serious view of their breach of discipline. My views on this subject are on record in these pages and I will not take up time and space by reiterating them. What was really the least satisfactory and creditable statement of the Government was in relation to the dispatch of troops to Rajahmundry in the month of June. The long and short of the story was that Europeans who were in the habit of misbehaving themselves were assaulted at midnight on a certain day at the instigation of a Mahomedan rival. And instead of punishing those men who were officials of the Government, the Government of Sir Arthur Lawley dispatched troops to Rajahmundry for the protection of the peace. And Sir Harvey Adamson has gravely stated in the Viceroy's Council in defending his pet Public Meetings Bill that the Rajahmundry incident showed the necessity for such a gagging measure. The Government of Madras could not of course justify their action, and consequently have taken shelter behind the same vague and time-worn plea.

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The other matter was in reference to industrial survey. In reply to the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma, the Government stated that the Government of India had given them no directions to carry out an industrial survey of the Presidency. The Secretary of State as well as the Government of India have declared themselves in favour of such a survey but the Government of Madras want specific directions. Let us hope that they will get them.

Sir S. Subramania Iyer retired from the High Court Bench last month after a distinguished career of twelve years. It is acknowledged on all hands that he was one of the most successful Judges that ever sat on the High Court Bench. His retirement is really a severe loss to the cause of the administration of Justice in India. As a man, lawyer, and citizen alike Sir Subramania Iyer is great. As a radiant Congress-man and a fearless member of the Legislative Council he is still remembered with affection all over the country. It is to be hoped that he will have the health and the inclination to join the Congress again and to give that wise lead of which the country is much in need at present. In any case all wish him long years of happy repose. A movement to commemorate his name and services has been inaugurated under illustrious auspices, and very soon a public meeting will be held at the Banqueting Hall under the presidency of His Excellency the Governor to determine the form of the memorial. This is as it should be. Indians cannot but be grateful to Sir Arthur Lawley, to the Chief Justice Sir Arnold White, and other eminent Englishmen for showing honor to a revered leader of their community.

All who love and respect spotless character and an unselfish life and who admire ability, knowledge, courage and independence, are pleased at the election of Mr. V. Krishna Swami Iyer as the University member of the Legislative Council in succession to the Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Siva Swami Iyer who has been appointed Acting Advocate General. The Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Swami Iyer is an acquisition to the Council where there is room for a man of his brilliant talents and genuine public spirit.

The self-styled 'Nationalists,' who are composed of a motley crowd of irresponsible, men recently disgraced themselves at Nagpur and at Midnapur and are going to do unprecedented things at Surat. Our erst while sober Presidency has not escaped the contagion. But for their silly vapourings and idle threats the Congress would

The 'Nationalist'
Movement in
Madras

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probably have been held at Madras instead of at Surat. They have apparently banded themselves into a party and elected no less a man than 'Srijut' N. K. Ramaswami Iyah as their leader. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer has been discarded as being too much wedded to old ways and not enough of a 'Nationalist.' Whatever may be said of some recent developments in Mr. Subramania Iyer's politics, which his many friends and admirers cannot but regret, he is a man of too many merits and too solid achievements to suit the new mushroom patriots, and I for one am heartily glad that Mr. Subramania Iyer has been saved the dishonour of being elected leader of this factious gang. 'Srijut' N. K. Ramaswami Iyah is taken seriously by himself alone. He has been formally elected pontiff of the new cult and we wish him and his flock all mirth and merriment. They have published a lengthy prospectus of a nationalist school to be started at Masulipatam under the leadership of Mr. D. V. Hanumantha Rao, who is certainly the fittest man to guide an Educational Council on account of his many academic distinctions and his deep and extensive erudition. The prospectus is all right, but falls a little short of perfection only by reason of no financial help being received or promised from any quarter. But what of that? What is 'Nationalism' worth if it cannot make bricks without straw and start schools without money? Is not Desabhakta Kharade gloriously maintaining a 'national' school at Amraoti? (It has just been closed for want of funds.—Ed.) The would-be Masulipatam school will be affiliated to your National College. So your Rash Behari Ghose and Gooroo Das Banerjee can boast of a worthy colleague in 'Srijut' D. V. Hanumantha Rao. I may add that our wobbling *Hindu* has blessed the scheme.

Madras

THE UNITED PROVINCES

Sir John Hewett made several notable pronouncements in the course of last month, chiefly at Allahabad. The resultant impression left on one's mind by those speeches is that it will be well for the country if there were more men of his stamp and of the stamp of His Excellency Sir George Sydenham Clarke than men like Sir Arthur Lawley and Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Sir Harvey Adamson and Sir Herbert Risley. There is an unmistakable note of sympathy with the sufferings of the masses as well as with the unfulfilled aspirations of the classes in our Lieutenant-Governor's pronouncements, the

Sir John Hewett's
Recent Speeches

PROGRESS OF INDIA (UNITED PROVINCES)

value of which can not be exaggerated at the present moment. He has given tangible evidence of his recognition of public opinion as a factor to be reckoned with in the administration of the country and consequently, his relations with the leaders of public opinion are of the friendliest, differ as they necessarily do on several questions. He has succeeded in obtaining better terms from the Imperial Government in the matter of the financial settlement between them and the Provincial Government, and he has made a corresponding improvement in the financial position of Municipal and District Boards. His famine policy is marked by large heartedness and unceasing vigilance, and he is doing his utmost, though within narrow limits by which his action is circumscribed, to mitigate the ravages of plague. Of what he has done in furtherance of industrial development and technical education I have more than once written in these pages. Altogether it cannot but be reckoned a singularly fortunate circumstance that Sir John Hewett is our ruler in the crisis through which the country is passing at present.

A portion of his speeches that has not commended itself to the leaders and exponents of public opinion is where he found fault with them for not publicly denouncing reckless 'extremist' politicians who 'invaded' the city of Allahabad the earlier months of the year and succeeded in corrupting the minds of the youth. If they had shown any measure of sympathy with the 'invaders' or even sat silent, I for one would have had nothing to say against the mild strictures of our well-meaning Lieutenant-Governor. But unlike many of their compatriots elsewhere who have exhibited a most unaccountable unwillingness to speak out their minds and some of whom have even coquetted with this new species of public men, the leaders of Allahabad discountenanced them in every manner they could and gave them no quarter whatever. The beneficial result of their wise firmness was perceived in the decorous and orderly proceedings of the Provincial Conference that was held in Easter week. But I need not say more on this point as Pandit Moti Lal Nehru has said in admirable and forcible language all that had to be said for the information of Sir John Hewett.

Fortunately for these Provinces the Council Reform Scheme 'adumbrated' by Sir J. Hewett is not like Sir Arthur Lawley's scheme and is even better than the Resolution of the Government of India led us to expect.

Briefly, the proposals are that the strength of the Council should be enlarged from 16 to 36, of whom 17 shall be non-official members and thirteen of them elected by the University (1), the Chamber of

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Commerce (1), the Mahomedans (2), the Landholders' Associations of Agra and Oudh (2), the six first class Municipalities (2), the smaller Municipalities each having a population of more than 20,000 (2), and District Boards (3). It may at once be admitted that a Council constituted this wise will be a distinct improvement on the present Council, and so far we cannot but be thankful to the Lieutenant-Governor. But it must be frankly admitted that the Government proposals fall far short of what the people consider to be the minimum requirements of the situation. Accordingly alternative proposals, which are by no means visionary or unpractical but which go undoubtedly farther than the Government proposals, are being made in non-official quarters. Two of these are put forward by the *Advocate* and by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani in the *Modern Review*. The latter proposes that the strength of the Council should be 60, of whom 30 shall be non-official members, 28 of these being elected as follows:—By the districts at the rate of one member for two districts, 24; by the University and the Chamber of Commerce, one each; and by the landholders of Agra and Oudh, one each. The *Advocate* urges the increase of members to 56, of whom 28 shall be elected as follows:—By the District Boards, 9; by Municipalities, 9; by special mixed constituencies, 6 (two of these being Mahomedans, two traders, and two others); by the Zamindari Associations, 2, and by the Chamber of Commerce and the University, 2. It is for the United Provinces Association to speak authoritatively on behalf of the Indian reform party in the provinces, and it is a pity that it has not yet moved in the matter.

Sir John Hewett, the Chancellor, preferred not to speak at the University Convocation, pending the decision of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the resolutions of the Naini Tal Conference, and the usual Convocation Address was accordingly delivered by the Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Pandit Sundar Lal. The text from which the learned gentleman preached was the need of more scientific education and technical education. The speech was entirely non-controversial, simple, brief and practical, as all Pandit Sundar Lal's speeches are.

The public meeting held at Allahabad under the presidency of our leader, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, to express our sense of joy at the restoration of Lala Lajpat Rai to liberty and to his country, was marred by the unseemly conduct of the so-called 'Nationalists.' The point of difference between them and the conveners of the meet-

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ing, who of course drafted the resolution which was placed before it by Babu Durgacharan Banerjee, a distinguished Advocate of the High Court, was that the resolution contained an expression of thanks to His Majesty the King-Emperor and His Excellency the Viceroy, to which, the 'Nationalists' were opposed. I do not mind saying that I see no occasion for this expression of thanks as the release of Lala Lajpat Rai was an act of tardy reparation to one whom we believe to have been innocent of the offence of disloyalty for which apparently he had been deported. But after all it is a small matter, and it is more or less a question of temperament which involved no fundamental principle justifying a division of opinion. Still, the Chairman did not prevent an amendment being moved and seconded. When the motion was put, however, it was found that the majority was strong in favour of the original resolution. A poll was demanded and it was taken, with the same result. But the 'Nationalists,' true to their abnormal fondness for rowdiness, created a disturbance which reminded one of the wild scenes of the Calcutta Congress Subjects Committee and left with abusive epithets of the leading men on their lips. Since then the columns of a local sheet which may remain nameless have been filled with vulgar attacks on Pandits Malaviya, Motilal and the rest of them. I may say that every one of these new 'patriots' who have risen like the prophets gourd, are unknown to name and fame and have no reputation to lose. They seek to push themselves into prominence by scurrilous abuse of every worthy man in the country and by misbehaviour at public meetings. They can have no intelligent opinions, they can make no great sacrifice, they have not a past on which to pride themselves. But they are so very noisy and so dead to all sense of decency and propriety that they have already brought discredit on our laboriously reared National movement and threaten real danger to it. There is only one way of dealing with them, that is, to denounce them in the simple language of plainness, to ignore them, not to compromise with them. Otherwise, we may bid a long farewell to public life if we are wise in our generation.

I grieve to say that since the Provincial Industrial Conference which was held in the beginning of April nothing has been done in the direction of making this an accomplished fact. Rupees 53,600 were subscribed on the spot by most respectable men, but the intending shareholders have not been called together, in fact, as I have begun by saying, nothing has been done. The next Conference is approaching, and I wonder with what face we can meet at it and make appeals to the

The United Pro-
vinces Pioneer
Sugar Mill

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Government and the people to do this and to do that, when its promoters show such lamentable apathy. I confess I am filled with humiliation when I think of how little really we do when there is so much to do and when we profess so much. I implore the leading members of the United Provinces Industrial Association to do the needful without any further loss of time.

As I remarked in a previous issue of the *Indian World* on the advisability of the Government giving a loan to save
The Ajodhia Estate this ancient and much prized estate from dismemberment, I ought to say that a loan of 25 lakhs has been advanced by the Government. We cannot be sufficiently grateful to Sir John Hewett for this thoughtful act of generosity.

Upon

BENGAL

Upon Dr. Rash Behary Ghose has been conferred the signal honour—the highest honour that we can confer—of
The Congress President presiding over the Congress and Bengal has every reason to be congratulated that the choice has fallen on one of *her* ablest sons. Although a section of the people raised an untimely and exceedingly unbecoming cry here and there to thrust Lala Lajpat Rai in his place, violating even the simplest constitutional method, the most honourable and dignified intervention of the great Lala, whose name the tactless Bureaucracy has caused to become a household word in India, cleared all clouds from the firmament. We are living in stirring times and under changed and strange circumstances, and it is wise and just that we should under all circumstances forget our differences, whatever they may be, close our ranks and give a bold and united front to our enemies who are seeking holes in our camps and are never more happy than when they can set one of us against another to make us exhausted of our growing manhood, and are ever anxious to fiddle like Nero upon the ruins of the Roman Empire.

Political atmosphere in Bengal has been gloomy ever since the Partition was carried out. Distinguished men have
British visitors to the Metropolis been coming out to study the cause of the present unrest and discontent in India. Mr. Keir Hardie came and went away. This month we are honoured by the visits of Dr. Rutherford belonging to the British House of Commons and Mr. Nevinson of the *Manchester Guardian*. These gentlemen fresh from home, bringing with them unprejudiced and unbiased

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minds, see things for themselves, study it minutely and impartially, and when they are in a position to speak out frankly, they speak out truths unpalatable to the Bureaucracy and a certain section of the Anglo-Indian Press. Some of these gentlemen, by their open declarations which are the result of the courage of their convictions and of the impartial study they make, have become eye-sores to some of the Anglo-Indian Journals. But nothing has daunted them, as it was the case with that sturdy and indomitable champion of justice and righteousness, the leader of the Independent Labour party, to tell out whom it may concern that there is no sedition in India. "If criticism of Government measures and of Government actions be sedition here, I say it has been always fair," said Mr. Nevinson at College Square on the 20th December. They glory in the possession of the ablest police, who to the unprejudiced traveller, a member of Parliament, "are the corruptest in the world." In the said meeting the representative of the *Manchester Guardian* advised us to get rid of our habit of looking to Government for everything and I hope the advise has not come to us a day too soon. "I have never seen such awful famine," said Mr. Nevinson with reference to the present scarcity in Orissa, and his impressions about the horrible telegrams sent to England I cannot but quote here: "These were entirely false from beginning to end. They were simply misrepresentations, an abominable crime deliberately done to stir up race against race so as to enable the Government to issue repressive measures."

We hope these representative gentlemen will go back to England and enlighten the British public of the actual State of affairs and of the so-called sedition scare in Bengal and in the Punjab.

Another notable event of the month is the retrial of Maulvi Leakat Hossain, the ardent *Swadeshi* propogandist, which came on before Mr. R. A. N. Singh at the Calcutta Police Court on the 23rd December. The wrath of the Bureaucracy never subsides and Maulvi Leakat has been chosen to be the victim of ceaseless prosecutions and persecutions. We were once impressed with the well-known proverb "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath," but ever since the Partition of Bengal caused us to speak out our minds, the Bureaucracy have never allowed the sun to go down for a day without some form or expression of it. There are two more cases against the Moulvi at Barisal and the Calcutta case, under Sec. 144 C. P. C., has again been adjourned to the 4th January.

Strikes, says the *Bengalee*, are the order of the day and it is

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therefore no wonder that, following in the wake of their brethren of the East Indian Railway, the Loco-men of the E. B. S. Railway should strike work. The Manager's *ultimatum* issued on the 24th December seems to have little effect upon the strikers who have 'emphatically denied' to resume work pending consideration of their grievances. In the meantime great inconvenience is being felt by the public owing to the uncertain state of the passenger traffic and a complete stoppage of the goods traffic. I hope good sense will prevail among the strikers before long and the Manager will take the earliest opportunity to remove their legitimate grievances.

On the night of the 23rd December a dastardly outrage was perpetrated at the Goalundo Railway platform on the life of Mr. B. C. Allen, Magistrate of Dacca, who was shot by an unknown assassin. I am at one with your contemporary of the *Hindu Patriot* that 'exemplary punishment should be meted out to the blackest villain by all means.' The *A. B. Patrika* condemns the deed as a 'fiendish outrage.' No such foul misdeed has been heard of, says the *Indian Mirror*, 'since the dark days in the Deccan exactly a decade ago when Messrs Rand and Ayerst were done to death for their supposed part in the plague policy of the Bombay Government.' Mr. Allen is now lying in an unconscious state at Mrs. Campbell's Nursing Home in Loudon Street. Profound sympathy is being felt for the victim of this heinous crime and let us hope he will be able to survive the attack.

On the 21st December the Government of Sir Andrew Fraser issued a Resolution on Mr. Weston's Report, dated the 6th instant, with regard to the recent hooliganism in Calcutta. Although Mr. Weston has not come to the findings arrived at by the non-official Commission, there is much in his Report that strengthens the public opinion as regards the complicity of the Police. The *Indian Mirror* characterises the Report as a 'remarkable document which reflects great credit upon its author.' But we must confess that the Resolution of the Bengal Government is not quite as satisfactory. The public would have been glad if the Local Government had taken this opportunity to lay down a definite course of policy in respect of such regrettable occurrences in the future.

Surrendus

NOTES & NEWS

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Use of Compressed Papers

Wheels, rails, cannon, horse shoes, polishers for gems, bicycles, asphalted tubes for gas or electric wires are now made of compressed papers. So many and various are the uses to which paper can be put, that the possibilities of the paper industry are almost endless. Let our capitalists clearly understand that India is a country rich in materials for paper-making and that strong and influential syndicates can be formed upon co-operative basis.

Indian Turpentine

Samples of Indian turpentine which the Forest Department of the United Provinces is now manufacturing at its factories at Dehra Dun, Nainj Tal, and Nurpur have been sent to the Imperial Institute in London for chemical examination and exhibition in the Indian section, from which it is expected they will be brought by the authorities to the notice of those interested in the trade. The samples have also been sent to a large firm of varnish makers in England for trial.

Indian Coffee

The production of coffee in India is restricted for the most part to a limited area in the elevated region above the south-western coast, the coffee lands of Mysore, Coorg, and the Madras districts of Malabar and the Nilgiris, comprising 86 per cent. of the whole area under coffee cultivation throughout the country. There has been a decrease in the estimated area in each year since 1896, and in the three years, 1904-6, both inclusive, there has been a net decrease of 21,564 acres.

Mr. Carnegie and Indian Manganese

A correspondent of "Capital" is responsible for the interesting statement that several of the manganese mines in the Central Provinces are the property of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and for the still more interesting statement that the Steel King is making efforts to acquire a controlling interest in all the manganese mines in India in which he is not already represented. The correspondent in fact espies the shadow of a huge Trust. The

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statements, however, look to be badly in need of confirmation. India is still very far from being the chief source of manganese. The industry has made great strides in the recent years, but, despite the cloud under which the Russian manganese industry has been labouring, only the richest ore has paid for working so far in India. The Russian industry is reviving, and the prospects for Indian manganese therefore are not over bright on the surface.

Well Boring in India

Under the auspices of the French Government authorities, much progress has recently been made in the sinking of artesian wells in the Algerian Hinterland. Under the Government of Bombay, experiments are being carried out with considerable success in the Ahmednagar district in India in obtaining water from bore-holes. The operations in question commenced during the famine of 1905-6. It is stated in the report of Mr. J. P. Orr, the collector of the above district, that in all 120 borings have been carried out in 53 wells of 36 villages. The wells treated are classified in the report in question under four heads—(1) those in which sufficient water came up through the bore-hole to render the deepening of the well unnecessary; (2) those in which the supply of water obtained was at first adequate, but subsequently diminished to such an extent as to render the deepening of the well necessary; (3) those in which water was tapped at a workable depth, but did not rise to the top of the bore, and thus entailed the sinking of a deeper bore-hole; and (4) those where no water was encountered. These last cases were 53 in all. Roughly, 40 per cent of the borings were failures, 23 per cent. were entirely successful, and the remainder involved the deepening of the wells. The cost of the borings is only from 16 to 20 rupees each. It is proposed to carry on this work during the coming year in the Deccan with increased energy.

GENERAL

Mr. Asquith and India

Opening a bazaar in Edinburgh for the Indian student's University Club, Mr. Asquith said the problem of their relations to India was unique, and becoming harder as time advanced and circumstances changed. The increasing difficulty was due to the growing complexity of social and economical conditions of India and to the fact that what used to seem an impenetrable barrier

between East and West was yielding to influences, constantly lessening racial and geographical distinctions.

Indian Mahomedans and The Plague

It is estimated that a quarter of a million Mahomedans have died of plague in the Punjab, solely because they refused to evacuate infected villages, on the ground that Mahomedans are forbidden to flee from the wrath of God. The principal *maulvis* (law doctors) of the Punjab have now issued a *fatwa* (judicial decision) declaring that the Koran expressly enjoins Mahomedans to quit places smitten by Allah with disease. The Government has welcomed this proclamation, and has offered to facilitate the the printing and publishing of an unlimited number of copies.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and the Governor of Bombay

The Governor of Bombay sent to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the veteran Indian politician, the first message of welcome he received on the arrival of the boat by which he travelled in Bombay harbour. Mr. Naoroji, it will be recalled, has finally left England, after half a century of residence here, to end his days in Bombay, and Sir George Clarke's telegram, despatched from Mahableshtar, was as follows :—"I cordially welcome you back to your native land. I trust your health is improved, and that you will live many happy years among the people on whose behalf you have so long laboured." Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji sent the following telegram in reply :—"Many thanks for such a hearty welcome. I am glad to say my health is improved. I cannot but accept gratefully your good wishes for labouring among my people."

Students And Politics

The Madras Government has just issued disciplinary regulations governing the conduct of professors, teachers and pupils, in the colleges and schools which are under public management, or are aided or recognised by the Government. They set out with greater fullness and clearness than is now the case with the position of students, teachers and professors in regard to political agitations against the authority of the Government and the pains and penalties attaching thereto. They apply to Government schools and to colleges, as recognised and aided institutions. They fit in with the University rules on the same subject, so that action can be taken against recalcitrant institutions through the provisions of the University Act.

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Conciliation Board.

Proposals have been issued by the Railway Board to all railway administrations in India for the constitution of a Board of Conciliation on the lines of that formed in England. It is proposed that there should be one board for each railway district, the composition probably being three employes and three railway officials. These will practically be courts of first instance for labour disputes. Further, on each railways system there will be a head-quarters board, to which appeals will lie. These boards will have before them for settlement disputes which the district boards have not been able to adjust. In case of the head-quarters boards failing to arrive at a decision an arbitrator will be appointed such as a High Court Judge, who will give the final award.

Liquor Traffic In India.

The maxim that "East is East and West is West" does not receive much confirmation from the "Orders of the Indian Government on the Report of the Excise Committee," a document which has just been issued by his Majesty's stationers. It is a calm discussion of ways and means for the regulation of the liquor traffic in British India, and with the exception of the fact that local option is declared to be inapplicable to the conditions of the country, there is nothing to indicate that it is an Eastern and not a Western people for whom the recommendations are meant. The proposed licensing machinery is to consist of the Revenue Officer of each district, the Commissioner or Superintendent of Police, and the municipal Commissioners. Shops are not to be opened before sunrise nor after nine in the evening, sale by children under 14 is to be forbidden, nor must they be allowed to buy, and soldiers and sailors and certain other persons are under a like prohibition. These at least are the Indian Government's recommendations.

Cheap Postage and Cheap Press

The circulation of Indian newspapers of the cheapest kind has been enormously increased since the introduction, on the 1st January, 1904, of the low rate of postage of a quarter anna (the equivalent of a farthing) for six tolahs in weight. In 1900-01 the Post Office calculated that 32 millions of newspapers of all kinds, printed in English or the vernaculars, passed through their hands; in 1901-02 the number had fallen to 31½ millions; and in the following year it was 32½ millions. There was thus only an increase of half-a million in three years, but thereafter the advance was very

rapid. In 1904-05 the number carried was 37 millions, and in the official year which ended on the 31st March last it was 44 millions.

Mrs. Besant on Bande Mataram

In connection with the ninth anniversary meeting of the Central Hindu College, Benares, Mrs. Annie Besant, as President of the Board of Trustees, delivered a notable speech on the 23rd December. She said that in that College they tried to unify loyalty towards their Emperor with love of their motherland, and so they had put up the mottoes that evening "Long Live the King" on the one hand and *Bande Mataram* on the other. Referring to the cry of *Bande Mataram* she urged that it was a mistake to suppose that it was seditious. It was the outcome of one of the noblest sentiments of the human heart, *viz.* patriotism.

Surat and the Congress

It is remarkable that Surat, which has been made notorious during the recent Congress sessions on account of the savage display of violent temper by the wild extremist Mr. Tilak and his foolish followers, may be said to be the cradle in which the British foundations of supremacy were first laid. It was at Surat, says the *Statesman* on the authority of Mr. Forrest, that British enterprise after roaming over Indian seas first furled its wandering sail and established a small factory which proved to be the foundation of a great Oriental trading company, for the factory at Surat, in less than a century, expanded into an Empire which in extent of territory and in multitude of subjects rivalled Rome. Surat now is a place of small importance compared with its great neighbour, Bombay, and the splendid cities in other parts of India which have grown and flourished under British dominance, but it remains a place of industry, owns a number of steam cotton mills, and is still famous for its hand-woven silk brocades and embroideries, its inlaid work and carved sandal wood. As a city, however, it is but a relic of its former grandeur when, as we are reminded by an editorial article in the *Hindustan Review* noticed elsewhere, it was one of the chief cities under the Mogul Emperors. According to Malabari's *Gujerat and the Gujeratis*, written in 1882, its rapid ruin can be traced to disastrous fires and floods and the rise and prosperity of the island town of Bombay. Ruin is not the word to employ in speaking of Surat nowadays, however, for since Mr. Malabari, wrote, it has undergone a 'renaissance,' and as we have said it is once more thriving even if only in a small way.

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Indian Review

The December number of Mr. Natesan's Monthly contains some very useful and instructive articles. The place of honor is given to a paper on *English Indifference to India* by Mr. S. H. Swinny, Editor of the *Positivist Review*. Rao Bahadur M. Adinarayana Iyah, Retired Deputy Commissioner, writes on *Decentralisation and Administrative Reforms*. He deplores the absence of touch between the rulers and the ruled and, as a step towards the remedying of the evils of the present system, pleads for the establishment of Advisory Councils in the districts and in the *taluks* and the revival of the Panchayet system in the villages. This is followed by a lengthy contribution by Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona on *Arbitration as a form of Swadeshim*. As an effective step to put a stop to the increase of litigation, it is desirable that arbitration courts should be established in every part of the country, and in this connection Mr. Kelkar gives an account of the arbitration courts which were successfully created and worked in Poona some years ago with the help of the officials and non-officials. Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao describes *Surat Ancient and Modern* in the course of a lengthy article. There is a lengthy sketch of the life and career of the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, President of the Surat Congress, which is accompanied by a shabby likeness of the illustrious man. Among other contributions of interest may be mentioned *India's National Anthem*, *Muslim Women in Turkey* by Rev. Canon Sell and *Lemon Grass Oil* by Mr. A. M. Sawyer.

The Hindustan Review

The hundredth number of the *Hindustan Review* is a splendid literary treat. It opens with a suggestive paper on *A Betrayal and its Aftermath* in the course of which the learned Editor of the *Indian Opinion* advises us to hold meetings, all over India, on one day, in which only one subject should be discussed, *viz*, 'the Sacrifice by the Imperial Government of the interests of Indians in South Africa.' The only resolution to be passed should protest indignantly against 'the manner in which Imperial pledges have been broken Imperial promises falsified and Imperial protection withdrawn.' The writer further suggests that India should send to the Transvaal

a short message consisting of the words, "India expects every Indian to do his duty." The second article on *The Study of Law in India* is the revised and amplified text of an address delivered to the students of the Bombay School of law by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandavarkar. The Rev. C. F. Andrews whose sympathies for India are well-known dilates upon *The Position of Educated Indians*. Mr. K. Natarajan writes on *Social Reform in India* and concludes to observe that it is 'not a pusillanimous creed; but that it is a consistent programme of practical work having definite national ends in view.' Raja Prithwipal Singh passes under review *The Proposed Indian Reforms* adumbrated by Mr. John Morley. Dr. A. Suhrawardy has a paper on *Islam and Empire of the Far West*. Mr. Iswar Saran describes the present position of *The Arya Samaj* which, according to the writer, 'manfully endeavours to live up to its convictions. It is a living force which is, on the whole, working for the good of the Hindu society.' Mr. C. Y. Chintamani contributes a highly learned paper on *Science, Education and Industry*. Mr. Satya Chandra Mukerjee's biographical sketch of the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, 'the foremost man of his generation among his countrymen,' is meant to be a profitable and inspiring study. The Editor himself takes a *Bird's-eye View of Surat*. The number closes with some views and reviews, criticisms and discussions followed by some notes on *The Kayastha World* as usual.

The Modern Review

The place of honour in the December number of the *Modern Review* is assigned to an able paper from the pen of Prof. E. A. Wodehouse whose attempt to ascertain *The Place of Philosophy in Education* is really admirable. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani takes up nearly six pages for a consideration of *The Reforms that we really want*. Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur's *Narrative of the Incident of his Early Life* is yet to be continued. Rev. C. F. Andrews dwells upon *The Outlook* of our political activities in the course of an admirable article. Mr. Akshoy Kumar Maitra of Rajshahi gives an historical account of *Gour under the Hindus* which is followed by Mr. Mahomed Ali's views on *The Advisory Councils*. Mr. Shaik Chili contributes an interesting article on *Raja Vikram and Fakir*. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee himself writes as many as five articles including a timely account of *Surat* and we are really jealous of the energy with which the Editor of the *Modern Review* conducts his periodical.

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER

1907

Date

1. The Seditious Meetings Bill is law. A meeting of the Viceregal Council held at Simla.
2. The Rule granted by the Calcutta High Court in the *Bande Mataram* Printer's case is discharged to-day.
3. The Bengal Literary Conference meets at Kassimbazar under the presidency of Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore.
6. A destructive fire breaks out in Bombay causing a heavy damage.
7. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji arrives at Bombay to spend the rest of his days in the land of his birth.
9. A big Mahomedan Meeting was held in Caxton Hall, London, to protest against the Transvaal Asiatic Legislation.
10. The All-India Standing Congress Committee decides, in a meeting held at Bombay, to change the *venue* of the Congress from Nagpur to Surat.
11. The charge of Sedition against Mr. A. C. Banerjee of the Calcutta Bar is withdrawn on his tendering an apology to the Government of Bengal. Captain Kemp's application to prosecute Gopal Krishna Row's father is dismissed by the District Munsiff of Cocanada.
13. A heavy cyclone in Madras. His Excellency Lord Minto delivers a remarkable speech at Hyderabad.
14. Mr. Keir Hardie arrives at Colombo. The Ranchi Railway is opened by Sir Andrew Fraser with great ceremony.
16. The Lieutenant-Governor of the U. P. lays the foundation-stone of the Sanskrit College Library at Benares.
18. Lala Lajpat Rai and Sirdar Ajit Singh arrive at Lahore from Mandalay. The E. I. R. strike begins. The Rangoon Bar protests against the judicial changes in Burma.
19. The Madras High Court directs payment of the first dividend in the Arbuthnot insolvency at the rate of ten pies in the rupee.
20. Mr. Bhaskar Vishnu of the *Veharee* is sentenced to two year's simple imprisonment on a charge of Sedition.
21. Mr. Syed Mahomed of Madras is re-elected to the Supreme Legislative Council.
23. A strike is apprehended on the Bengal Nagpur Railway.
24. Dr. Rash Behary Ghose is unanimously elected President of the 23rd Congress by the Surat Reception Committee.
26. A terrible fire breaks out at Lucknow.
28. The fiftieth anniversary of the relief of Lucknow.
30. In his post prandial utterances at the St. Andrew's Dinner in Calcutta Sir Harvey Adamson makes a critical reference to our present-day politics.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

The most unfortunate feature of our present situation seems to us to be the fact that politics absorbs the entire attention and activity of the educated community of India. For some years past, politics has bulked very largely before the public attention of India, even to the utter exclusion of every other thing that goes to make a nation great and powerful. If one would carefully enquire into the entire question of national well-being, he would not take a long time in coming to the conclusion that politics alone cannot raise a nation or solve its multitudinous problems.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

In the history of the ancient world we read of many peoples who made politics their main, perhaps the only, concern of their public life. With the decadence of their political influence, these nations of old have gone down to obscurity—unwept and un-honoured. Perhaps the only differentiating element in the old and modern civilization is the important fact that the modern represents many-sided activity while the ancient represented only the progress of arms. The days of steel and strife, of chivalry and gallantry, of prowess and heroism are gone,—passed away for good. To-day the modern world boasts of its records not in the number of slain and wounded in a battle-field, not in the number of provinces or countries brought under subjection, not by the intensity or the force of despotism or autocracy, but in the manifold researches and investigations which have widened human visions, taken off all narrownesses and prejudices from the greater part of the world, and made human life more happy and enjoyable. The heroes of the ancient world were such men as Caesar and Alexander the Great, while the heroes of to-day are those who have invented the steam engine and wireless telegraphy, the discoveries of electricity, radium and phonograph and the men who have established the claims of antiseptic treatment and are finding new remedies for all human ailments. Future generations of men may forget the heroes of hundred fights of an earlier day, but no history of mankind can ever ignore the services rendered to our race by such men as George Stephenson and Marconi, Madame Currie and Edison, Lord Lister and Dr. Koch. Not muscle *nor* courage but brains and intellect now-a-days decide the claims of a people to be considered great. The

THE INDIAN WORLD

test of the civilization of to-day is the knowledge we can contribute to the widening of the visions of life, reducing and restricting its dangers and difficulties, and turning everything found in Nature to some good account. It is by this test of civilization that nations will be judged now and hereafter, and it is of the utmost importance that every people of the world should equip itself to go through this test with as much success as possible.

Taking the case of India, we own it to a feeling of shame that we have in the present age done nothing by our researches or efforts to promote human happiness or advance human civilization. India has not always, as every body knows, been a decadent country. There has been a time in the history of our country when our forefathers led and guided human civilisation and made ample contributions not only to our religious and moral conceptions, to metaphysical speculation, to the industrial and economic pursuits of life, but also to every department of human knowledge. We have fallen off a long way from that position. We now console ourselves with memories of the past and what is worse, we feel that beyond revering our past and condemning the present we have not any work to do for our future. Educated India as a body has shut its eye against intellectual, moral and social progress. We have also kept ourselves away from a close study of all physical, chemical and mechanical sciences, from the study of medicine and bacteriology and of such other subjects as are of material interest to every people. We have not so long taken part in the world's record of progress in the departments of sea and aerial navigation, in annihilating distance and utilizing and controlling the elements of nature for the use and service of man. This so far as scientific investigations go. As regards intellectual rationalism, nine out of ten of us have not been able to free ourselves from the thralldom and tangle of a world of superstition and prejudices. As ill luck would have it, we have unfortunately succeeded in burdening our religion with a very clumsy mythology and drowning all higher conceptions of the godhead by the reverence we pay to ghosts, goblins, snakes and trees. Even the deities who are supposed to be responsible for the spread of cholera, small-pox and all sorts of cutaneous disorders extort in some parts of the country our unstinted homage and worship. We have indented a large amount of adventitious awe and fear to keep us from drifting towards free-thinking. In the attempt to keep out free-thinking, the spirit of thinking *reasonably* has also been lost in India. We cannot now argue a point without a bias or eschew personal considerations

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

from the discussion of public subjects. We are yet far from establishing a reign of law and reason in India. This so far as our progress in rationalism goes. In the domain of moral and social progress, we have not yet begun to detect and realize the plague-spots of our life, far from beginning to correct them. Even to-day, in the beginning of the twentieth century, in most parts of India, the Pariah and the Sudra are looked down as abominations, the infant widow is condemned to a life of compulsory celibacy and privations, the *Satee* is occasionally burnt in the funeral pyre of her dead lord, without drawing a drop of tear from the stony heart of our Society. The question of female education and of female emancipation is amongst many classes of the people still a question of mere academic interest. Good neighbourly feelings that once used to be the characteristic and prominent feature of Indian communal life has well-nigh disappeared and an anxiety to avoid the law has replaced the moral instincts of the race. Caste, inspite of the leavening influence of western education, maintains in the villages almost as strong an influence as it ever did. Social exclusiveness constitutes as remarkable a feature of Indian Society to-day as it was in the days of Ramanuj and Chaitanya. The ideas of sexual morality continue to be as lax as they were in the sixteenth century, and polygamy and polyandry still prevail amongst many clans and communities in India without let or hindrance.

The above does not furnish us with a happy or hopeful outlook. Are we to sit still and do nothing to remove the evils just mentioned? Should politics continue to absorb all our time, attention and energy to the exclusion of social, moral and intellectual questions? Shall we go on continuing to criticise others and never think of mending ourselves? These are questions which we seriously put to New India today.

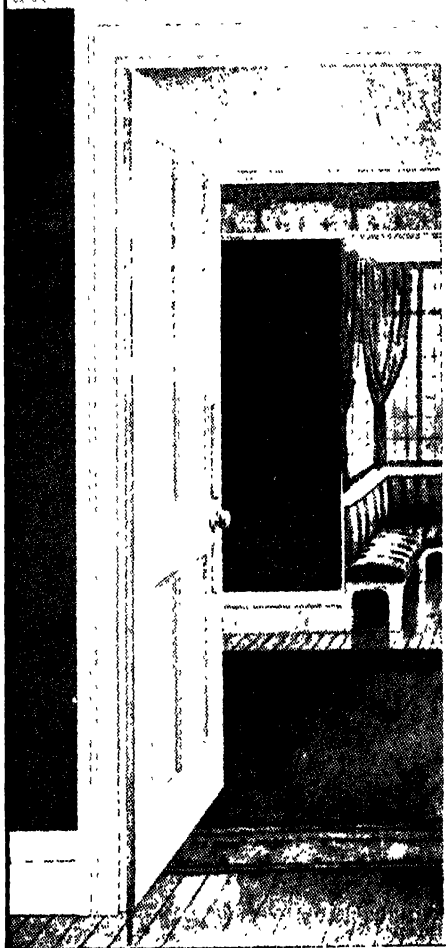
If we cannot, and will not, march abreast of the intellectual progress of the day, put our house into order and mend our ways, India can never be expected to be great. Politics alone will not elevate us into a great nation nor the fine art of criticism. Nor the salvation of India can ever come through such agencies as the press and the platform only. We must do, dare and die—do golden deeds and dare and die for moral and social principles, for moral and social advance. One of the happiest and most hopeful signs of the times in India at the present day is that a national consciousness is steadily gaining ground amongst all classes of the people and that the 'better mind' of this country

THE INDIAN WORLD

is being educated to a sense of nationality. As a result of this awakening, we are just now witnessing an industrial renaissance in India. Much spade work has admittedly been done in this department at considerable sacrifice and risk. In the field of politics also, a number of men are coming to the front in every part of the country to bear the brunt of battle and the trouble of all the fight. India has reasons to be proud of these men. But where are the men who will save her from intellectual thralldom, establish the reign of law and reason in this country, remove all her social wrongs and iniquities, and carry her standard forward in the moral world? Where are the men who will always stand up for righteousness, purity, truth and justice and brave all the censure and abuse of the wicked tongue and face the music of violent opposition? Where are the men who will sacrifice all that they have on earth for promoting the interests which make for peace, contentment and happiness? Hundreds of our young men ought to come forward from every part of the country to make researches in the domain of all sciences and knowledge, bind themselves together to fight all social evils and carry war into the enemies' camp to remove all sorts of prescriptive social wrongs and vice. We all feel to-day a pride and a sensation of joy when we utter the sweet words, *Bande Mataram*. But how many of us can realize that we have no right to hail our motherland so long as we do not see her out of a degraded and degenerate environment. Politics no doubt is good and no one is so foolish as would not admit the wisdom of its cultivation; but progress in political ideas without parallel progress in social, moral and intellectual departments is powerless to elevate a nation or make it great. We hope, in the rush and press of political agitation and turmoil, Young India will not lose sight of its more important duties and actions and allow India's name to be dragged any longer in the category of half-civilised countries.

Not only a free and self-governed India, but an India free from all superstition and prejudice, all narrowness and ignorance—an India which will think and work out the problems of life not by the reflected light of the West but with the light that she can herself generate, an India which will regain her position as Teacher of the World—such is our conception of the future of our country. All our best efforts should be devoted towards the realisation of this ideal, and if we fail to rise equal to the occasion we should very much like, in the language of Prof. Huxley, some 'kindly comet' to appear and to sweep dear mother India out of existence.

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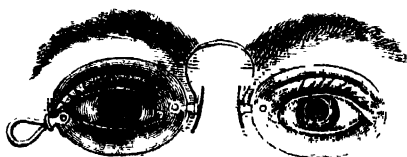
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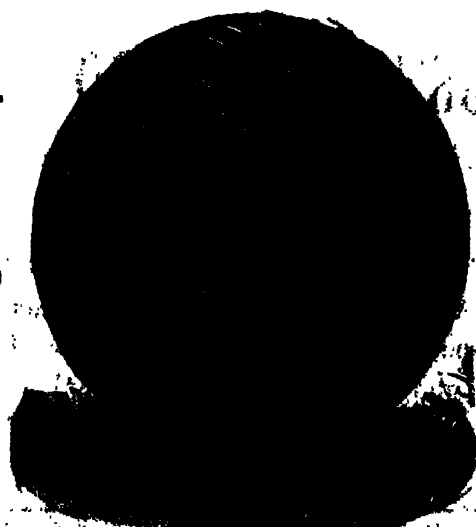
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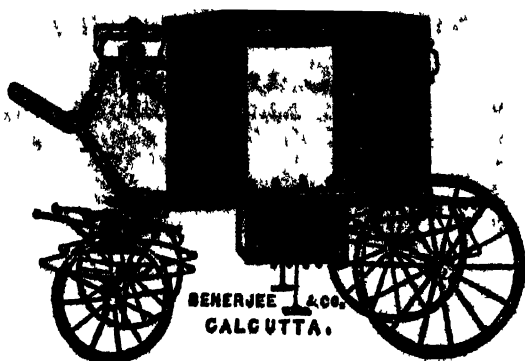
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